

VERHANDELINGEN DER KONINKLIJKE NEDERLANDSE
AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN, AFD. LETTERKUNDE
NIEUWE REEKS — DEEL LXXV, No. 1

EYE AND GAZE IN THE VEDA

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NORTH-HOLLAND PUBLISHING COMPANY
AMSTERDAM-LONDON - 1969

Universitetsbiblioteket
LUND

BF
Amsterdam
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AANGEBODEN IN DE VERGADERING VAN
11 NOVEMBER 1968

I

The belief that there exists a power of great influence proceeding from the eye seems to have been common to almost all peoples in all times ¹⁾. Its origin may safely be said to be lost in the obscurity of prehistoric ages. Curiously, but on the other hand intelligibly enough, most of the abundant evidence of this hereditary and instinctive conviction of mankind concerns the firm belief in a blighting power of glance and fixation and of controlling events injuriously to others, and, in particular, a belief in the malignant influence darting from the eyes of envious or angry persons, which is not rarely described as a sort of contagion transferred by a glance or concentrated look directed toward a person or an object. This explains why, if no important publications have escaped me, much more has been written on the evil eye, on the power of casting a spell or producing some malignant effect upon a person or object, than on the good or benevolent look or on the human and animal look or gaze in general ²⁾. Yet there is no doubt that the good and the neutral look have, not only in the personal face to face encounter ³⁾ and in social intercourse in general, but also in religious customs and ritual practices, always played an important part. I am therefore highly sceptical about the view pronounced by Seligmann—who did devote some pages to the “good eye” ⁴⁾—that there is only question of the “good gaze” (guter Blick) when the destructive ray of the eye strikes something evil or somebody wicked ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ For ancient Egypt see e.g. S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 87; 192; for ancient America H. Trimborn, in W. Krickeberg, H. Trimborn . . ., *Die Religionen des alten Amerika*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 107; 161. See also W. Deonna, *Le symbolisme de l'œil*, 1965.

²⁾ For the evil eye see e.g. F. T. Elworthy, *The evil eye. The origins and practices of superstition*, (London 1895), New York 1958; S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, Berlin 1910; the same, *Die Zauberkraft des Auges und das Berufen*, Hamburg 1922 (compare also, the same, *Die magischen Heil- und Schutzmittel aus der unbelebten Natur*, Stuttgart 1927); W. Herz, *Die Sage vom Giftnädchen*, Abh. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., philos.-philolog. Cl., 20, München 1897, p. 91 ff., esp. p. 107 ff.; D. Frei, *Dämonie des Blickes*, Akad. Mainz 1953, 6; Elworthy, in *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, London 1908–1926, V, p. 608 ff.; Seligmann in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, herausgeg. v. H. Bächtold-Stäubli, Berlin 1927–1942, I, 685 ff. (and see also X, p. 43); H. Webster, *Magic. A sociological study*, Stanford Cal. 1948, p. 151 ff.; O. Jahn, *Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten*, *Berichte Ges. d. Wiss.*, Leipzig 1855; Kuhnert, in *Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encyclopaedie des Class. Altertumswiss.*, VI, Stuttgart 1909, 2009 ff.

³⁾ See also F. Nötscher, *Das Angesicht Gottes schauen*, 1924, passim; G. Rudnitzky, *Die Aussage über 'das Auge des Horus'*, Thesis Mainz 1952; Deonna, o.c., p. 148 f.

⁴⁾ Seligmann, *Der böse Blick*, I, p. 244 ff.

⁵⁾ Seligmann, o.c., p. 244.

It has recently—and no doubt rightly—been argued⁶⁾ that in ancient India “the language of the eyes” must have been more advanced than it is with us. This appears not only from the many passages in poems and other works of literary art but also from the dramaturgists, who from Bhārata on (cf. NŚ. 8, 38 ff.) devote minute attention to the expression of emotion by the eyes: “The glance in which the eyelids are drawn up and fixed, and the eyeballs are sparkling and turning up is called terrible . . .”, etc. etc. Although the frequent mention of this “language of the eyes” between lovers in classical literature should not detain us here, the effects of the glances of a young woman on the man where it lights—trembling, breaking into sweat, bewilderment and paralysis as a result of the poison which it contains⁷⁾—cannot have escaped the observation of those who composed the Vedic texts. The classical poets and writers on literary art⁸⁾ were not the first to observe the significance of the furious or minatory gaze of the warrior, the angry look of the offended, the frightened eye of a hunted antelope⁹⁾. It is indeed hardly conceivable that the psychical contact brought about, in normal social intercourse, by the eye, should not, consciously or unconsciously, have been made an element in a variety of rites and religious customs, that the positive fascination of a prolonged look, fixed regard or other manners of looking should not, in ritual practice also, be a means of expressing feelings, of imposing silence, of signifying consent or satisfaction, of expressing will, love or reverence, a means also of participating in the essence and nature of the person or object looked at. The possession of an eye, indeed, implies, not only the ability to see and to perceive, to watch and to discover, but also the secret of the coercive, defensive, influential, “contagious” and propitious look.

There are at least in the religion of the Veda a considerable number of ritual directions and customary practices which can hardly be explained otherwise than as being based on the consciousness on the part of worshippers and ritualists of the power of the eye and the possibilities of its gaze

⁶⁾ D. H. H. Ingalls, An anthology of Sanskrit court poetry, Cambridge Mass. 1965, p. 178.

⁷⁾ For some references see Ingalls, l.c.

⁸⁾ For the plastic arts see e.g. T. Bhattacharyya, The canons of Indian art, Calcutta 1963, p. 408.

⁹⁾ Restless eye-movements are closely associated with the emotively toned feeling and thinking of men. Hence the attention paid to the eye by yogins. Passing mention may therefore be made of the well-known reduction of eye-movements of the yogin, which now has been experimentally established by Trigant Burrow, Science and man's behaviour, in The contribution of phylobiology, ed. by W. E. Galt, New York 1953. The fixed glance of the yogin is indeed mentioned in all Tantric texts, steadying the eyes being one of the foremost prerequisites for a successful yogin. See also H. V. Guenther, The life and teaching of Nāropa, Oxford 1963, p. 180 f., and compare the Buddhist Hevajra-Tantra, I, 11 (translated by D. L. Snellgrove, The Hevajra-Tantra, I, London 1959, p. 84 ff.).

and glance in general. This¹⁰⁾ is of course not to deny the existence of rites and customs based on, or explicable from, the belief in the evil eye¹¹⁾. What will, I am sure, become sufficiently clear from the following survey¹²⁾ of a representative number of text places is that gaze, glance and meaning look, in short any contact by means of the eye could in Vedic religion be an element of different rites, serving a variety of purposes.

In studying the religious significance of the relevant rites and customs it should be borne in mind that according to the ancients it was the eye that illuminated the objects and was therefore actively concerned in the process of seeing¹³⁾. According to a theory expounded in KauṣBU. 2, 13, 1 brahman shines when one speaks with speech, when one sees with the eye, etc. When one does not speak or see it dies. Then its brilliant energy (*tejas*) goes to another organ of sense, in the first case to the eye, its vital breath (vital power: *prāṇaḥ*) to the vital breath, etc. An interpretation of the complete passage would be beyond the scope of this publication; let it suffice to observe that the very act of seeing (speaking etc.) is re-

¹⁰⁾ Compare also K. Goldammer, Die Formenwelt des Religiösen, Stuttgart 1960, p. 75.

¹¹⁾ For the evil eye in Vedic religion see e.g. W. Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 79 f.; V. Henry, La magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris 1904, Index, p. 282, s.v. Mauvais œil and p. 283, s.v. Regard; H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 481; 501; A. B. Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 387. Compare e.g. RV. 1, 148, 5. For the same belief in post-Vedic and modern India see e.g. W. Crooke, Popular religion and folklore of Northern India, Allahabad 1892; C. G. Diehl, Instrument and purpose, Lund 1956, p. 381, s.v. and the bibliographical note 21 on p. 60. For various Indian customs in connection with the evil eye see e.g. C. H. Tawney-N. M. Penzer, The Ocean of story, London 1924 ff., I, p. 217; III, p. 37; VIII, p. 75 n. 1; IX, p. 68. Compare e.g. also R. E. Enthoven, The folklore of Bombay, Oxford 1924, p. 222 ff.; N. E. Parry, The Lakhers, London 1932, p. 462 f., and especially J. Abbott, The keys of power, London 1932, ch. IV (p. 116–148).

¹²⁾ Which does not pretend to be complete; some places of minor interest are deliberately omitted; identical parallels are often left unmentioned; needless repetition is possibly avoided.

¹³⁾ The eye is explicitly stated to “shine”: ŚB. 1, 4, 3, 7 (*cakṣur vai dīdaya*), or to “glare”, to “be luminous” (*dīpyate* 6, 2, 1, 5); cf. also ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 12 *bhāsvatī hīme jyotiṣmatī cakṣuṣī*; ChU. 3, 18, 5: the eye being a fourth part of brahman (see 3, 18, 2) shines (*bhāti*) and gives out heat (*tapati*) with the sun as its light. There is also an intimate connection, or rather identity, between eyesight and *tejaḥ*, i.e. fiery and brilliant energy: ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 4 *cakṣur vā aśvinau tejaḥ* and *cakṣur evāsmiṃs tat tejo dadhāti*.—For shining divine powers in the eye see e.g. JUB. 1, 43, 9 f. Compare also TB. 2, 5, 1, 3 *cakṣur devānāṃ jyotir amṛte nyaktam*, i.e. . . . *indriyānāṃ madhye cakṣur indriyaṃ jyotir vispaṣṭabhāsakaṃ tac cāmṛte maraṇarahite ādityasvarūpe nyaktam nīlīnam*.—There were also ritual techniques invented to “place light in oneself” (KB. 27, 6). For an identification of eye and light see ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 11.—In this connection notice also semantic and etymological relations such as *kāś-* “to shine”, “to be brilliant”, “to appear, be visible”: *cākaś-* “to shine brightly; to see clearly”, etc.—Compare also Deonna, o.c., p. 251 ff.

garded as a "shining" and a "being alive" of brahman¹⁴). This conviction of the activity of the eye largely explains the belief in the possibility of transmitting good or evil by means of a look, especially when it is frontally directed towards its object. In Medieval Europe also the eye was held to be a source of diseases and epidemics were believed to spread "when the aerial spirit going out of the eyes of the sick strikes the eyes of the well persons standing near and looking at the sick, especially when they are in agony"¹⁵).

There is a certain correlation between eye or eyesight and clearness and lucidity¹⁶): see e.g. RV. 3, 26, 7 where Agni says that the sacrificial butter is his eye: "das Schmalz vermehrt seine Helle, darum heisst es sein Auge"¹⁷).

¹⁴) ChU. 3, 18, 2; 4, 8, 3 speech, breath, eye, and ear are, each of them, one quarter of brahman.

¹⁵) Anonymus on Epidemics in Montpellier 1349, quoted by Frey, o.c., p. 251. The reader may for the sake of brevity be referred to R. B. Onians, The origin of European thought, Cambridge 1954, p. 76 ff.

¹⁶) It would appear to me that the frequent and easily intelligible relation between eyesight and the sun (e.g. the sun as the 'eye' in the visible sky: RV. 1, 22, 20; 1, 136, 2; as the eye of deities: 7, 61, 1; 7, 76, 1; 7, 77, 3; cf. AV. 10, 7, 33; 19, 44, 5; "the eye of the sun": RV. 5, 40, 8; 5, 59, 3; 5; AV. 9, 9, 14; 18, 1, 10; the sun, the one eye of what exists, overlooks sky and earth: 13, 1, 45; eye-sight depends on the sun RV. 6, 11, 5, or is related to it: 9, 10, 8; the sun is implored to give eyesight: 10, 158, 4; AV. 19, 43, 3; AV. 2, 16, 3 invokes the sun to protect the man who is represented as speaking by eyesight, i.e. by preserving his visual faculty—compare the reading of AV. Paipp. 2, 43, 3 "protect (my) eyes"—; the eye of the deceased goes to the sun: RV. 10, 16, 3; the man who looks has the sun as a powerful ally: AV. 12, 1, 33; the sun is the overlord of all manifestations of eyesight: 5, 24, 9; cf. 6, 10, 3) are likewise of some interest in this connection. For the sun as an eye: TS. 1, 4, 43, 1 (cf. R. Pettazzoni, The All-knowing god, London 1956, p. 471 s.v. sun).—In classifying the organs of sense and psychical faculties etc. the eye is likewise co-ordinated with the sun (for obvious reasons also with water: ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 54): TB. 1, 1, 7, 2; AiB. 2, 6, 13; ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 13; 10, 3, 3, 8; JUB. 1, 28, 8; 2, 2, 3; 2, 11, 4; see also BĀU. 1, 3, 14; 3, 9, 20; ChU. 3, 18, 2; KaU. 2, 2, 11. Compare also ŚB. 8, 1, 2, 1 f.; 9, 3, 1, 6; 11, 8, 4, 6; 13, 3, 8, 4; ChU. 3, 13, 1, and for a relation between the eye and Agni AV. 4, 14, 5; TS. 4, 6, 5, 2; ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 28 (VS. 17, 69: "Agni goes in front, like the eye", Mahādhara, cf. J. Gonda, The Savayajñas, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 218; cf. also ŚB. 10, 3, 3, 2). By "placing the eye of Agni in front" (i.e. by delighting gods who are the foremost portions of Agni) "one does not become blind" (TS. 5, 6, 4, 2). JUB. 4, 12, 2 "He (the sun) said: "I, rising, become the day . . . ; by me as sight (*mayā cakṣuṣā*) deeds are done. If I were not, there would be no day, no night; no deeds would be done". That is to say, day-light and visual faculty enable the creatures to carry out their tasks. Hence probably the identification of the adhvaryu, the officiant who undertakes the manual performances of the sacrifice, with the eye (K.B. 17, 7); see also BĀU. 3, 1, 4 "the adhvaryu is the eye of the sacrifice (not with Hume and Radhakrishnan: "the eye is the adhvaryu of the sacrifice"); the eye is the sun, he is the adhvaryu..."

¹⁷) K. F. Geldner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, I, Cambridge Mass., 1951, p. 359. Cf. also Śāyana: *yad etad viśvasya vibhāsakaṃ mama svabhāvaḥ bhūtaprakāśāt makam*

The general belief in eye power—which is in a way a representation of the power of the whole person—is moreover not rarely modified by popular convictions about the form, the colour or other particulars of the organ of sight. A blood-red eye signifies evil and is characteristic of angry and wicked people, barbarians, demons and awesome gods¹⁸). Devī-Canḍikā's three eyes are said to have developed from the (fiery) energy (*tejas*) of the god of fire, Agni¹⁹). A wide eye may, especially when it belongs to a mighty being, point to a concentration of vitality²⁰) and wakefulness. Thus the "eye of Horus" was in ancient Egypt a symbol of vital power and vital substance, a seat and source of valuable energy in general²¹). It is therefore small wonder that the Indians, fond of correlative systematization as they were, assumed the existence of a relation between the form of the eye and a man's character²²). "Rich men", Varāhamihira²³) says, "have eyes like leaves of the reddish lotus . . . ; people with cat's eyes are wicked. Those who have eyes like an antelope, round eyes and eyes that are obliquely squinting are thieves. Cruel people have squinting eyes and kings have eyes like an elephant's . . ." Similar opinions are expressed in purāṇical texts²⁴). The popular belief underlying this lore may furnish the clue to ŚB. 1, 5, 1, 20 "What at the hotar choice may escape the obliquely squinting (*jihmam*) eye this day, that may Agni bring back here . . .", a *jihmam cakṣuḥ* being obviously regarded as able to appropriate or to keep something valuable.

One should however realize that on closer inspection the beliefs and practices connected with what is generally indicated by phrases such as "eye power" etc. may be varied and complicated. Whereas fixation in general is often feared²⁵)—for which reason the person or object looked at is covered or the attention of the onlooker is diverted—, the glances of "heavy-souled" people or mighty men who have the power injuriously to affect others are believed to be especially dangerous²⁶). It is on the other hand not the eyes alone that commit the mischief, but also the mind

cakṣus tad ghytam. The man who desires sight should therefore offer an oblation in ghee to Agni and Viṣṇu; "by the eye of Agni men see, by the eye of the sacrifice (= Viṣṇu) the gods see . . ." (TS. 2, 2, 9, 3; cf. also 2, 3, 8, 1).

¹⁸) See e.g. Rām. 5, 47, 5; BhāgP. 4, 14, 44.

¹⁹) MārKP. 79, 16.

²⁰) In a correlative system (organs of sense and animals) the eye is brought into relation with the horse.

²¹) Rudnitzky, o.c., p. 89; 91.

²²) Cf. also X. F. M. G. Wolters, Notes on antique folklore, Thesis Utrecht 1935, p. 28 ff.

²³) Varāhamihira, Brhatsaṃhitā, 68, 64 f.

²⁴) I refer to H. Kohlbrugge, Glücks- und Unglückszeichen am menschlichen Körper, Acta Or. (Lugd.) 20, p. 36 ff., (esp. p. 54).

²⁵) W. Koppers, Die Bhil in Zentralindien, Horn-Wien 1948, p. 290 f.

²⁶) E. Thurston, Omens and superstitions of S. India, London 1912, p. 110 "if a great man takes particular notice of a person or place, ill-luck will follow".

and the tongue, and, above all, the envious heart behind the look. Often the evil wish and the mere intention of harming someone, expressed in a prayer to that effect is considered sufficient²⁷). As will be seen on the following pages, the combination of gaze and consecratory formula is, for good or ill, especially efficacious.

The special importance attached to the eye and eyesight appears also from the ritual techniques and the esoteric knowledge by which Vedic man tried to "remain endowed with eyesight until old age in this world and to start in the hereafter possessed of eyesight" (ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 41), to obtain "endless (sharpness of) sight" (PB. 1, 5, 19)²⁸ or "to take away the eye of one's spiteful enemy" (ŚB. 11, 8, 3, 10)²⁹, cf. also TS. 6, 11, 5, and, for instance, from the fact that Agni is implored to guard the speaker's life and eye (TS. 1, 1, 13, 2). The importance of eyesight³⁰ was emphasized by those Vedic poets who implored a divinity to be gracious to breath (vital power) and sight (AV. 5, 4, 7, against fever), or stated that the man who knows brahman's stronghold will not lose sight and breath (10, 2, 30)—see also 8, 2, 4; 11, 8, 31; 18, 2, 46—; or who have the performer of a magic rite say that he has seized eye and breath (AV. 4, 5, 4). Compare also the triad sight, breath and progeny (given to a person 10, 2, 29). In short, "what were man without eyes?" (ŚB. 11, 7, 4, 2).

The very act of looking away or looking about is quite intelligibly ascribed to the Creator-god Prajāpati who, being in the beginning alone, looked round about (*vyākṣata*) and saw another being (viz. the brahman); after that he engaged in conversation (JB. 2, 369): again the use of the eye as the first means of coming into contact with the outer world and the priority of eyesight (cf. also ŚB. 10, 4, 2, 21), which is for instance also apparent from identifications of, for instance, the Eye of Sūrya with Sūrya himself (cf. also RV. 1, 136, 2; 7, 66, 16)³¹). In the course of his creative activities the Primeval Being looked successively at the regions of the universe (*sa diśo 'nvaikṣata prācīm dakṣiṇām . . .*) and thereupon made them the object of his exertions and austerities (GB. 1, 1, 10: *tās tatraivābhyaśrāmyad abhyatapat*): a conscious directed look as an obviously

²⁷) S. Fuchs, *The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla*, London 1960, p. 506.

²⁸) Cf. also VS. 4, 3 (ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 15).

²⁹) See also ŚB. 10, 3, 1, 3; 10, 6, 1, 8.

³⁰) See also Deonna, o.c., p. 1 ff.—In this connection mention could be made of some secondary meanings of the verbs of seeing etc., for instance of *īkṣ-* ("to look with mental contact and effort") in the sense of "to consider" etc. (ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 7; 2, 1, 2, 14; 2, 2, 1, 13 etc.).—Places such as the following are not considered here: Kalhaṇa, *Rājat.* 4, 24 f. "Having lost his heart to that graceful (lady) . . ., the king slowly returned to his palace, his eyes glancing sidewise full of care. While his eyes were absorbed in the imagination of her form, his body became reduced, as well as his affection for his wives and concubines".—For the relations between the eye and other vital powers, e.g. breath, see also Onians, o.c., p. 73 ff.

³¹) Cf. also V. S. Agrawala, *The thousand-syllabled speech*, Varanasi 1963, p. 60.

obligatory preliminary of mental contact and a psychical process. ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 11 states that that place of worship which the brahmins versed in sacred learning see (*īkṣ-*) with their eyes, becomes acceptable to the gods. Although this statement follows on a formal approval of the sacrificial place by a ritual act and the mantra VS. 4, 1 by which that place becomes acceptable to gods and brahmins, this passage shows that in the author's opinion no other sense-organ can compare with eyesight when it comes to witnessing, inspecting or approving. This precedence of the other organs of sense given to the eye as a witness is in harmony with statements such as TB. 3, 3, 5, 1³²) "the eye is truth; in that the officiant looks at the sacrificial butter he sprinkles butter on it (which is likewise identical with truth)"; ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 27 "The eye is the truth (*satyam*). If two persons were to come disputing with each other . . ., we should believe him who said "I have seen it", not him who has said "I have heard it" (4, 2, 1, 26; TB. 1, 1, 4, 2; 3, 3, 5, 2; AiB. 1, 6, 10; 2, 40, 6); BĀU. 4, 1, 4; 5, 14, 4 "I have seen, that is the truth", and with the first place occupied, in later enumerations of the sense organs, by the visual faculty³³).

An interesting explanation of the character of the eye is furnished by MaiU. 6, 6 where it is stated that the sun is the eye of Prajāpati's most solid body which consists in the tripartite universe. "For", the text continues, "the material world (*mahatī mātrā* "the great object") is dependent on a person's (*puruṣasya*) eye", that means that for a person the existence of the material world is first and foremost dependent on his eye. "For", according to an interpolation³⁴), "with the eye he surveys the material world" (*cakṣuṣā hy ayaṁ mātrāś carati*). "The eye", it is added, "is the 'real' (*satyam*)", for (according to an interpolation) the 'person' (*puruṣaḥ*) moves about among (i.e. operates on) all objects while residing (*avasthitaḥ*) in the eye"³⁵).

There is for Christians and Europeans who are accustomed to the use of similar metaphorical expressions nothing very striking in the idea that

³²) For this place see also p. 53.

³³) See e.g. the enumeration of the sense organs RVKh. 2, 12, 1 (p. 84 Sch.) *cakṣuṣ ca śrōtram ca mānaś ca vāk ca* etc.; ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 6; ChU. 5, 1, 3; 13 where the eye is considered a "firm basis" (*pratiṣṭhā*); R. Garbe, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*, Leipzig, p. 320, and the phrase *cakṣurādayaḥ* e.g. Nyāya Bh. 3, 1, 17: 168. The exceptional position of the eye is also clear from other contexts, e.g. RV. 10, 102, 12; VS. 28, 35. Naturally enough the loss of eyesight is much feared: RV. 10, 59, 6; AV. 3, 1, 6; 5, 21, 10; sight is put on a par with a complete life-time: 8, 1, 20. Cf. also RV. 10, 73, 11; 10, 158, 3; 4; VS. 2, 16.

³⁴) J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad*, The Hague 1962, p. 108; 136.

³⁵) In the Avestan passage Y. 68, 22 homage is paid not only to Ahura Mazdāh and the Aməša Spəntas, but also to Mithra, the sun, and other beings, and to Ahura Mazdāh's eyes, which no doubt are foremost among the faculties attributed to him.

the man who has gained access to 'heaven' beyond the power of time which does no longer destroy the fruits of his ritual merit "looks down from on high upon day and night" (ŚB. 2, 3, 3, 12). Nevertheless such phrases also attest the priority taken by the visual faculty of the other organs of sense.

The eye being characteristic of a living being is also stated to be, or represent, "motion" (*caranam*), because it is in accordance with the eye that the body moves (*carati*); ŚB. 10, 3, 5, 7; cf. 13, 3, 8, 4 "the sun is the eye of creatures, for when he rises everything here moves".

II

It is not surprising to read that also in India one should in addressing another person look at him: JB. 1, 108 *tam abruvann iksitvā* "they said to him, looking at him"; Mbh. 1, 37, 2 *sa tam kṛṣam abhipreksya sūnṛtām vācam utsrjan / aprcchat (tam) . . .*; KŚS. 7, 8, 24 the adhvaryu looks at the seller of the soma while pronouncing the formula TS. 1, 2, 7 h¹). It may indeed be easily imagined that the man who in ancient Indian social life addressed himself to somebody important in order to enter into a friendly relation with him or to obtain a favour from him, looked at him. But it is also evident that in the meticulous ritual texts this look would not be mentioned if it were meaningless. It is in any case quite natural that this usage should have been adopted in ritual attempts to achieve a similar purpose: ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 20 "looking down on the earth he mutters 'O Mother Earth, do not injure me, nor I thee' (VS. 10, 23)." The man who enters on a vow²) with the formula 'O Agni, lord of the vows'. I will keep the vow . . .' (VS. 1, 5) has to look (*abhi-iks-*) towards the āhavaniya fire (ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 2): "stepping between the gārhapatya and dakṣiṇā fires, and standing west of the āhavaniya, his face turned eastward and looking at the fire (Agni)" (KŚS. 2, 1, 11). KŚS. 3, 18, 13 "with the formula VS. 2, 25, containing, *inter alia*, the words: 'Therefrom excluded is the man who hates us and whom we hate . . . From this food, from this resting-place excluded . . .', he looks at (his) portion" is explained: "the sacrificer, being seated on his own place, looks at his own portion"³). By this act he declares it to be his own, reserving it for himself to the exclusion of others.

Yet keeping the eyes fixed upon a person may be more than the attendant respectful look belonging to polite address. It may in the ritual

¹) See also W. Caland-V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, p. 47.

²) For this passage and Agni as a "lord of vows" see H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vratā und awestisch urvāta*, Hamburg 1958, p. 105 f.

³) *ayaṃ ca bhāgasamskāraḥ tenāntāpachinnādānu bhavati. anekayajamānake ekaḥ sarvair anvārabdhaḥ. sarvair vā svāmśāvekṣaṇam*; and cf. Mahidhara on VS. 2, 25 *yo 'yam bhāgo 'vekṣyate asmād annād yajamānabhāgān nirbhakta iti vākyaśeṣo 'nuvar-tanīyaḥ*.

sphere serve to transfer the powerful purport of a text to the person who is aimed at by the officiant reciting it. In the description of a 'magic' rite for defeating an opposing army occurring AiB. 8, 10 it is taught that the priest should touch the body of the chariot of his noble patron with "O tree, be thou strong limbed", invite the nobleman to mount, make him turn with RV. 10, 174 "With the attacking oblation . . .", and keep gazing at him (*anvīkṣ-* "to follow with the eyes") while reciting RV. 10, 103 which is "ein urwüchsiges . . . Schlachtlied, das den ausziehenden Soldaten nachgesungen wird"⁴), 10, 152 invoking Indra, the destroyer of enemies, and Sauparna hymns⁵). Then his patron will conquer that army (§ 4 f.).

We may go further. There can be no doubt whatever that looking into a direction can be a means of coming into contact with the powers residing there. Thus ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 13 it reads: "he looks towards the East; the East indeed is the region of the gods: that is why he looks toward the East"⁶), and in 14 the author adds: "he looks with VS. 2, 25 f. 'we have gone to the realm of celestial light', that is 'we have gone to the gods', because that realm—which is in the East, Mahidhara on VS.—means the gods". The commentary observes: "by looking eastward the gods are regarded". After adding, in 14, that in a similar way unison with the gods is brought about by pronouncing a formula while looking at the āhavaniya fire, the author continues (15): "he then looks up to the sun, for that is the final goal . . .; to that he goes; for this reason he looks up to the sun". This act is accompanied by VS. 2, 26a "self-existent art thou, the best ray of light".

A considerable number of Indian rites consists of four or more parallel acts performed towards the points of the compass⁷). Sometimes the author of a text is explicit on the as a rule self-evident detail that the officiant has to look to these directions. Thus the five stanzas of RV. 10, 152, which is a prayer for protection against threats and the occurrence of something undesired, are ŚGS. 6, 5, 6 prescribed in a defensive rite: "They look to the East with stanza 1 (addressing Indra, the destroyer of enemies), the South with stanza 2 (stating that the same god averts the enemies), etc.; they are to speak the last stanza while looking to the sky". This rite presupposes the god's omnipresence.

Among the ritual acts constituting that part of the Vājapeya which is known as the mounting of the sacrificial post by the sacrificer and his wife is also the following. When the sacrificer has reached the top of that post he must look in the different directions (quarters of the universe)

⁴) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 320.

⁵) J. Gonda, *The Ṛgvidhāna*, Utrecht 1951, p. 26.

⁶) Cf. KŚS. 3, 8, 15 *prācīm diśam prekṣate. etad apy arthakarma* "he looks towards the East; this is an action on purpose".

⁷) I refer to my forthcoming book on Śivaism and Viṣṇuism, ch. III and IV.

while muttering the words "Ours be your complete command of all bodily and psychical faculties (*indriyam*)⁸⁾, your manly vigour, your resourcefulness (*kratuḥ*)⁹⁾ and brilliant energies (*varcāṃsi*)" (VS. 9, 22). The commentators on the Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā no doubt correctly observe that the directions or their presiding deities are also addressed, Mahīdhara adding a reference to KŚS. 14, 5, 14: while pronouncing the following words "Reverential salutation to Mother (Earth)" the sacrificer should look on the ground. The former act is explained in ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 15 "having appropriated to himself the glory, the bodily and psychical faculties, the virile power of this All, he now places them into himself, makes them his own: that is why he mutters, while looking in the different directions".

That looking in a definite direction is a means of remaining in contact with the ideas or entities believed to reside there appears also from a direction given to the sacrificer who whilst undertaking the consecration¹⁰⁾ "strides the Viṣṇu-strides". To the accompaniment of VS. 12, 5h "stride along the quarters" he looks along (*vi-īkṣ-*) the (four) quarters and does not stretch forward his foot, thinking "lest I loose these worlds" (ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 16). It may be remembered that the regions are both inside and outside of these worlds which are fastened by them to the sun (6, 5, 2, 7; 6, 7, 1, 17).

Whilst inviting the Fathers—who are believed to dwell in the South—to come (and to give good offspring) one should look towards that direction (TS. 3, 2, 4, 5).

Among the directions given by Kauśika in connection with the Full and New moon rites is also 6, 16: "While pronouncing AV. 16, 9, 3 'We have gone to the light of heaven (*sva*), to the light of heaven have we gone, we have united with the sun's light' one looks (*īkṣ-*) at the sun". The commentator Dārila adds the next stanza "in order to become more excellent . . . may I win good . . .".

In an interesting narrative of the JB. (3, 269 f.) one of the Atharvans, Udvanta, left his celestial abode to meet, a soma vessel (*camasa-*) in his hand, some seers who without success tried to gain, by means of a sacrifice, access to a heavenly world. While putting them questions and eliciting replies, from which it appeared that their lack of success was due to their way of living, he looked three times¹¹⁾ at the drinking-cup. Meaning looks to intimate to the seers that this object was, or contained, the source of success? Or was Udvanta to remain, by means of the cup and his looking at it, in contact with the heavenly sphere from which he came? One of the seers, Asita, looked at the cup and by doing so, "saw" a *sāman*;

⁸⁾ See my book *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 274.

⁹⁾ The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 261 f.

¹⁰⁾ See J. Gonda, *Change and continuity in Indian religion*, The Hague 1965, p. 331.

¹¹⁾ For the number three see *The Savayajñas*, p. 142 f.

after praising with it he gained access to heaven. In the latter part of the story the drinking-vessel no doubt functioned as a 'bridge', looking at which was a means of penetrating the transcendent unseen.

Whereas TS. 6, 3, 4, 3 f. in dealing with the erection of the sacrificial stake, limits itself to the statement: "with a verse addressed to Viṣṇu he arranges it; the post has Viṣṇu for its deity; verily he arranges it with its own deity", KapS. 41, 3 prescribing the use of TS. 1, 3, 61=RV. 1, 22, 20 "That highest step of Viṣṇu the sages ever gaze upon like an eye stretched in the sky", enjoins the priest to look at (*ud-īkṣ-*) the post, adding the comment that thus—the verse being addressed to Viṣṇu and the post belonging to this god—they look at the post with its own deity. The look is obviously regarded as transferring the presence of the God who "resides" in the pronounced formula.

Belief in the willingness of a divine being to help in straitened circumstances leads man to turn to that being which quite naturally implies looking at it. In places such as RV. 10, 121, 6 this process is performed "mentally": *yām krāṇdasi āvasā tastabhāne abhy aīkṣetām mānasā réjamāne* "(the unknown god), towards whom both contending armies, which by his help had been sustained, directed their eyes trembling in their minds"; while looking at the god they think "our greatness depends on him" (*Sāyana*).

Among those ancient wedding ceremonies which are observed even now¹²⁾ is the so-called *parasparasamīkṣaṇa*- "the looking at each other". According to ĀśvGPar. 1, 23 and LĀśvS. 15, 20 a piece of cloth is held between bride and bridegroom which at the proper astrological moment is removed. PārGS. 1, 4, 16 says¹³⁾: "He then makes them look at each other (while the bridegroom recites the stanzas RV. 10, 85, 44; 40; 41; 37 which are quoted in full): "with no evil eye, not bringing death to your husband, bring luck to the cattle, be full of joy and vigour . . ." It is clear that if no precautions would be taken and the ritual act would have been omitted this visual contact might be detrimental to the husband-to-be. Compare also BaudhGS. 1, 1, 24 *tayekṣamāno japati aghoracakṣur apatighny edhi* . . . "Being looked at by her he mutters (the formula): 'Be of a benign eye, do not kill (your) husband!'".

That contact by means of the eyes helps to establish more or less intimate relations with a person, to contract friendship or to become attached to other people, or that it is indicative of these relations or attachments, is also apparent from VS. 17, 68 used in mounting the great fire-place¹⁴⁾: "Mounting heaven they do not look and take no notice (in Dutch: "zien niet om naar": *upa-īkṣ-*); they ascend heaven . . ."; that is, the commentators say, "they do not regard their sons, cattle etc.,

¹²⁾ P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, Poona 1941, p. 533. Compare also MGS. 1, 10, 12 f.

¹³⁾ Cf. also ĀpGS. 4, 4 with the comm.

¹⁴⁾ See my book *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 191 ff.

because they have attained their object". "Those who go to the heavenly world do not indeed look and take no notice" (ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 27). Wilful visual contact is indeed an indication of attachment to the objects seen, and the word 'attachment' may here be taken not only in its "metaphorical" sense. This consideration may serve to explain the above words "Going to heaven they look not away" in AV. 4, 14, 4 (Paipp. 3, 38, 4); VS. 17, 68; MS. 2, 10, 6: 138, 8; TS. 4, 6, 5, 2; 5, 4, 7, 1; ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 27 etc. which are explained by the commentaries somewhat as follows: "they do not regard their sons, cattle and other objects which constitute their mundane happiness"¹⁵) or "they do not regard another 'place'"¹⁶). Those who go to heaven are said to know better than to enter into visual contact with things terrestrial, may be for emotional reasons, but probably also because this might prevent them from 'entering' heaven. Compare also KS. 18, 4; 21, 9; KapS. 28, 4; TĀ. 1, 27, 5.

In answer to the question why in performing the Agnihotra he at a given moment looked away (viz. to the gārhapatya hearth; cf. the comm. on 11, 5, 3, 3) Uddālaka Āruṇi said (ŚB. 11, 5, 3, 6; cf. 3): "When I looked away (*apairkṣi*), then I joined together this and yonder world". It seems that the gārhapatya here also represents the terrestrial world (cf. ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 37; 7, 3, 1, 10) and that a subsequent look towards heaven (which is not mentioned) brings about the connection before the performer of the rite with a libation "settles himself in the 'heavenly world'".

An expiation prescribed ŚGS. 6, 4, 11 ff. reads as follows: "Now if the time for rising has come, they drive away (all) evil (which, the commentator Nārāyaṇa adds, is attached to their body, such as dirt), perform the standing expiation (*nityām śāntim*), and look at the sun (*ādityam iṅśante*), pronouncing (the mantra) *ud itaḥ śukriyaṁ dadhe* "from here I take out the brightness (brilliance)" — another translation "arisen, I . . ." is also possible. While Nārāyaṇa is no doubt right in observing that they remove the nocturnal evil by means of their reciting of the sacred words, the visual contact is another indispensable element of the rite. The sun is by its brightness to remove the "dirt".

Comparable injunctions regarding a special way of looking or casting glances are not foreign to post-Vedic cults. In its description of the animal sacrifice which is part of the worship of the goddess Kālī the Kālikā-Purāṇa 57, 7 f. inserts the injunction: the worshipper must while pronouncing the relative formulas and facing the North look at the victim which faces the East. Similar rules are given with regard to the Vedic ritual, although the position of the victim etc. is different (see e.g. ĀpŚS. 7, 16, 5)¹⁷). Cf. Kālikā-Pur. 59, 22; 24; 28.

¹⁵) Comm. on AV. *putrapaśvādījanitam aihikasukham alpam necchanti*.

¹⁶) Mahidhara on VS. 17, 68.

¹⁷) One might consult J. Schwab, *Das altindische Thieropfer*, Erlangen 1886, p. 74: "Das Thier wird . . . im Osten in einiger Entfernung von dem yūpa nach Westen gewandt gehalten".

On the above basis we can understand why the eye (eyesight) is coupled together with the creative and inaugurative faculty called *ojah*¹⁸) and physical power (*balam*)¹⁹) in JUB. 3, 27, 5; 8 where these three are brought into relation with the sun, whereas 3, 25, 8 laughter, play and sexual pleasure, being another group, are related to the apsaras and 3, 25, 4 fragrance (*gandhah*), joy and delight with the gandharvas. This association moreover helps to explain also BĀU. 5, 14, 4 "truth is sight . . . that truth is founded on strength (*bale*)". "The eye is asserted to be truth, because, unlike the mind and speech, it is not prone to give false witness"²⁰).

The implications of looking at an object could in the ritual sphere lead to complicated situations. Discussing the preparation of the sacrificial place and utensils in connection with the Full and new-moon sacrifices the ŚB., 1, 3, 1, 20, whilst intimating that the wife of the sacrificer must be made to look at the ritual butter, says that to that purpose this stuff must be put on the gārhapatya hearth, also in case it is to be heated on the āhavanīya, because it would not be proper if he were to take it (from the āhavanīya) to the West. "And if he were not to let the wife look at it at all, he would thereby exclude her from the sacrifice. And in this way, then he does not exclude her . . .; therefore he does not take it eastwards (i.e. bring it to the āhavanīya) till after melting it close by the wife (on the gārhapatya), and making her look at it." According to the ritual of the Black Yajurveda, however, the butter, after the wife (as well as the adhvaryu and the sacrificer: ĀpŚS. 2, 6, 6) has looked at it, is again heated on the gārhapatya fire, in order to remove the impurity which has thereby been imparted to it. The relevant texts²¹) furnish us with some interesting particulars²²): the woman must look at the butter (cf. KŚS. 2, 7, 4) while pronouncing the mantra VS. 1, 30 "I gaze upon thee with an eye uninjured, thou art the tongue of Agni. Be thou a good invoker of gods for every endowment of divine power, etc. . . .", according to ĀpŚS. 2, 6, 2²³) while muttering TS. 1, 1, 10 k "Thou art the milk of the great ones (cows), of plants the sap; with an uninjured eye I gaze upon thee for fair offspring".

¹⁸) See J. Gonda, *Ancient-Indian ojas*, Utrecht 1952.

¹⁹) The authors were of course well aware of the fact that visual impressions could be the cause of bodily sensations: ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 6 "when Prajāpati had produced living beings, he observed them successively and from exceeding delight his seed fell". Similarly, GB. 1, 1, 3 *tā apah sṛṣṭvairikṣata. tāsu svām chāyām apaśyat. tām asyekṣamāṇasya svayam reto 'skandat*.

²⁰) Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 472. See above, p. 9.

²¹) For details see A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena 1880, p. 60 f.; A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 10 f.

²²) Part of which will be discussed elsewhere.

²³) See the note by W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, Göttingen-Leipzig 1921, p. 55.

III

It can hardly be doubted that Whitney's translation ¹⁾ of AV. 4, 15, 3 — which is to accompany a rite for abundant rain — *sām īkṣayasva gāyato nābhāmsi* "do thou make the singers to behold together the mists" misses the point. The meaning seems rather to be: "do you (the collectivity of the Maruts, the gods who are shedders of rain; cf. the comm.) make the singers (i.e. us) to look thoroughly at the clouds": while pronouncing the text of which this stanza forms part the reciters should fix the clouds with their eyes in order to direct or transmit to them the power which is inherent in their words ²⁾. The reciter's looks are to induce the clouds to give water (st. 2), to gratify the earth (st. 1), to gladden it with gushes of rain (st. 3; 4), etc.

Although it is difficult to decide what is the exact meaning of the words *sām yāj jānān krātubhiḥ śūra īkṣayat* in RV. 1, 132, 5, it may be a parallel: "when the hero (in all probability, Indra) made the men (those performing a rite) look (at the powers to be influenced, the objects to be gained? ³⁾ thoroughly with acts of inventiveness ⁴⁾ (i.e. with ritual devices) . . ." One of the explanations furnished by Sāyaṇa is . . . *krātubhiḥ karmabhiḥ sukrta-duḥkṛtarūpair nimittabhūtais tattatphalair yojayati*.

A remarkable method of exerting influence by means of visual contact is mentioned ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 4: "He looks at the sham-man (i.e. a sort of doll ⁵⁾ of no use to gods, Fathers or men: 6, 3, 1, 24) with the words ' . . . we shall carry Agni Purīṣya (VS. 11, 16) . . .'; he thus searches for him (Agni) by means of the sham-man". The sham-man is by means of a wilful and directed look made an instrument. Compare also ŚB. 6, 4, 4, 14 ⁶⁾.

According to ĀśvGS. 3, 12, 13 the royal purohita should look at the king (who is ready to go to war) when he mounts up to him on his chariot and repeat the three sūktas RV. 10, 103; 10, 152 and the Sauparnasūkta. RV. 10, 103 is "ein urwüchsiges, ganz im Atharvastil gehaltenes Schlachtlied, das den ausziehenden Soldaten nachgesungen wird" ⁷⁾, in which the king addressed is encouraged and urged on to give battle, together with the warlike and victorious god Indra — whose feats of arms are praised —,

¹⁾ W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 172.

²⁾ Stanza 2a is in itself less clear (*sām īkṣayantu taviṣāḥ sudānavah*), but may be elucidated by st. 3, the suppressed object being "the 'singers'", i.e. "us"; the subject is no doubt "the Maruts" and the text should not, with Whitney, be altered.

³⁾ Geldner, o.e., I, p. 186: "wenn der Held die Augen aller Leute nebst ihren Gedanken auf sich zieht"?

⁴⁾ For *kratu-* see The vision of the Vedic poets, p. 359 s.v.

⁵⁾ Lit. "no real man" (*anaddhāpuruṣa-*); cf. also D. S. Ruegg, in J.A. 243, p. 163 ff.

⁶⁾ For Agni Purīṣya see RV. 3, 22, 4; TS. 5, 5, 7, 5; VS. 11, 9; 30; 72 etc.

⁷⁾ Geldner, o.e., III, p. 320.

and the image of the superiority of the king's weapons and soldiers is evoked ⁸⁾. ŚB. 4, 3, 4, 18 " . . . he (the sacrificer) looks on the sadas (i.e. on the brahmans occupying that place) with (VS. 7, 45 e) 'Unite (or Exert thyself: *yatasva*) with the sadas-priests'": the dakṣiṇā which is addressed must do the officiants good. The author adds the explanation: "whereby he means to say: 'May the sadas-priests not go beyond thee'", but Uvāṭa on VS. observes *tathābhūtam yatnam ātiṣṭhasva yathā sadasyaiḥ pūritair atiricyase* "endeavour so as to become superior with sadas-priests being made strong"; Mahīdhara, giving a similar interpretation, adds: *tathā tvayā yatitavyam yathā tvījo dhamaiḥ saṃpūryādhiḥ bhavēyuh*: the act is to make the officiants increase in wealth and excellence.

The accompanying acts and formulas not rarely enable us more exactly to determine the character of the meaning look, to ascertain how far and in what sense it is significant. According to MGS. 1, 10, 12 f. the future bridegroom, being (of) pure (mind), should turn towards his bride and say to her: "behold (me)"; while she is looking at him (*saṃīkṣamā-ṇāyām*) he should mutter the formulas: "He (the god mentioned further on) must place your heart in my vrata ⁹⁾; your mind (will) must follow my mind (will); rejoice in my words with your whole mind; Prajāpati must join you to me".

GB. 2, 2, 15 deals with the recitation of the so-called stomabhāgas (particular stanzas belonging to the Soma sacrifice) while keeping one's eyes fixed upon the brahman with the result that the brahman will fall head foremost.

The authority to whom we owe the text-place MS. 4, 8, 2 goes even so far as to contend that those brahmans who have drunk soma are able to kill their enemies by a mere glance: *īśvarā brāhmaṇāḥ somapāś cakṣu-ṣāpahantoh*. Similar mythical stories are handed down in post-Vedic literature. In relating how the Sun, after becoming Aditi's son as Mārtaṇḍa, proceeded to destroy the demons and to restore the gods to their sovereign positions the MārkaPur., 102 (105), 24, also recalls that this adorable deity looked at (*nirīkṣitāḥ*) the great asuras who being burnt up by his splendour (*tejasā*) were reduced to ashes. — Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (56, 171 f.) contains a story of a bird which is reduced to ashes by an angry look. — In order to counteract definite dream visions (a black man with black teeth, a black- or yellow-looking woman with loosened hair, etc.) one should, after having looked at them, fast, and prepare and offer a definite oblation (Śā. 11, 4). The text does not specify how to look at these visions ¹⁰⁾.

⁸⁾ Compare also H. P. Schmidt, *Brhaspati und Indra*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 99 f.

⁹⁾ The untranslatable term *vrata-* generally speaking denotes a religious vow, rule or firm purpose and the practice, observances or manner of life based on these.

¹⁰⁾ The text has been misunderstood by A. B. Keith, *The Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, London 1908, p. 61.

A very clear instance of this eye-power occurs Kauś. 14, 26 f.: in order to encourage, on the battle-field, one's own soldiers¹¹), one must while looking at both armies (*sene samikṣamāṇaḥ*) mutter one of the texts AV. 4, 31 and 32 or both of them. In these texts Manyu ("Fury; Kampfwut") is invoked: "In alliance with Thee, O Fury, battering, feeling excitement . . ., let (our) men go forward unto (the enemy) . . .". "Ainsi (le chapelain) imprime aux siens l'élan formidable qui enfoncera les lignes du front ennemi"¹²). A similar rite is no doubt meant Kauś. 15, 6: "the royal purohita should pronounce AV. 5, 2, 4 or AV. 6, 13" (while looking at the enemies: . . . *ity anvāha*, viz. *parasainikān*, Dārila, schol.)¹³).

An interesting illustration of the belief that a wilfully directed look brings about a definite result in the ritual sphere is also found TS. 1, 7, 1, 2: cattle being Idā, i.e. nourishment, especially the essence of the sacrificial food, the "Opfersegen", and the calf being identified with Vāyu, the sacrificer should, while mentally concentrating on Vāyu, look at the hotar when the latter is summoning Idā; "verily he lets the calf go to the mother".

The officiant, who in accordance with the directions given in Kauś. 35, 16 (*yām icched vīraṃ janayed iti dhātavyābhīr udaram abhimantrayate*) fixes, while pronouncing the stanzas AV. 7, 17, 1-4, his eye upon the womb of the woman he wants to give birth to a son, must have been convinced that that gesture transmitted his intentions and the force inherent in the potent words to the sexual organs of that particular woman. The same implicative use of the compound *abhimantrayate* may be supposed to occur elsewhere: Kauś. 12, 12, being a rite to bestow vigour or vital power upon a girl, enjoins the officiant to "consecrate her right thigh with mantras", that is to pronounce mantras while looking at that limb¹⁴).

In chapter 39, the author of the Kauśika-Sūtra describes a very interesting rite to counteract witch-craft¹⁵). The enemy of the man who wishes to perform the rite is obviously supposed to have made and hidden a *kṛtyā*, i.e. a doll prepared for magical and destructive purposes, and the officiant is instructed how to make this object inoffensive: 39, 11 *kṛtyayā-mitracakṣuṣā samikṣan kṛtavadyadhanīty avaliptaṃ kṛtyayā vidhyati*. This

¹¹) Cf. Keśava's note in J.A.O.S. 14, p. 315.

¹²) V. Henry, La magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris 1904, p. 153.

¹³) One might compare, in classical literature, the motive of the hero (e.g. Rāma) who by a mere curving of his eye-brows binds down the ocean etc. (Mammaṭa, Kāvyaapr. 4, 40).

¹⁴) One is reminded of a similar ritual procedure in connection with breath: "Wünscht der Gatte die Conception zu fördern, so soll er nach vollzogenem Beilager auf seine Gattin atmen, indem er die Worte sagt: 'In deinen Atem lege ich den Samen nieder, o du, N.N.' Die Gattin ihrerseits soll seinen Atemzug in sich aufnehmen" (Caland, in Z.D.M.G. 51, p. 133 f., with references).

¹⁵) "Um die Behexung auf den Urheber zurückzuwenden" (W. Caland, Alt-indisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 132), whose notes may be consulted for particulars. Compare also Henry, o.c. p. 169 ff.

difficult sentence was translated by Caland¹⁶) as follows: "Wenn sich eine bezauberte Puppe vorfindet, so fasst er sie mit feindlichem Blicke ins Auge und schiesst, während er die Strophe (AV.) 5, 14, 9 ausspricht, auf die durch die bezauberte Puppe verunreinigte Stelle"¹⁷). According to the commentator Keśava¹⁸) the term *amitracakṣuṣā* denotes a mantra, so that his interpretation would be: "he looks at the *kṛtyā* with the mantra (beginning with) 'with an inimical eye' ". The same author moreover adds another detail, viz.: "he (the magical operator) looks with the mantra AV. 5, 14, 9 at the place occupied by the *kṛtyā* and then shoots, to the accompaniment of the same formula, at it with a special bow and arrow". The stanza AV. 5, 14, 9 runs as follows: "O prepared piercer, pierce him; whoever has made (it), smite him; we do not sharpen thee to slay him who has not made (it)." Notwithstanding the difficult wording of the text and the dissentient view of the commentator the purport of the passage is as clear as the equivalence or complementary character of looking and shooting.

So the effect of a destructive act in the ritual sphere is enhanced when it is accompanied by a look directed towards the object which must be struck: VS. 11, 20; ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 12 *vikhyāya cākṣuṣā tvām abhi tiṣṭha prṭanyatāḥ* "looking about (at it, viz. at the lump of clay, the horse being addressed) with thy eye do thou tread down all assailants" (cf. TS. 4, 1, 2, 3 stating that the horse is fain to gaze with his eye on Agni). Cf. also ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 8 and 11 (where the eye is identified with light).

It is in this connection worth recalling that a look may be accompanied by a movement made towards the person addressed or threatened with an imprecation. Dealing with the ritual use of AV. 7, 13 the author of Kauś. 48, 35 f. informs us that with stanza 2 of this short text, which is meant to be recited in a magical rite against enemies, the officiant should go and look at them: *uttarayā yāms* (Caland¹⁹) proposed to read: *uttarayāyāms tān paśyati*. That means²⁰) that as soon as the enemy comes in sight one should go to him while fixing one's eyes upon him²¹).

IV

That a look was consciously regarded as a form of contact appears from the combination of "looking" and "touching". Casting one's eyes upon a person and touching him were related activities. This may for instance be inferred from a passage such as AV. 1, 33, 4 ab = 16, 1, 12 ab

¹⁶) Caland, o.c., p. 134.

¹⁷) "Dès qu'il a découvert la poupée, il la foudroie d'un regard farouche" (Henry, o.c., p. 170).

¹⁸) See J.A.O.S. 14, p. 341.

¹⁹) Caland, Zauberritual, p. 170, n. 19.

²⁰) Compare Keśava's note in J.A.O.S. 14, p. 351.

²¹) "Dans certains cas, la parole magique suffit, accompagnée ou non d'un regard qui la dirige, d'un geste comminatoire qui la renforce" (Henry, o.c. p. 225).

invoking the divine Waters to gaze on the person speaking with propitious eye and to touch his skin with propitious body (*śivēna mā cākṣuṣā paśyatūpaḥ śivāyā tanvōpa spṛṣata tvācam me*). The commentary adds in explanation: (*mām*) *sekādinā anīṣṭaparihāreṣṭapṛāptikāmam avalokayata* "look at me who wishes to avoid the undesirable and to obtain the desirable with sprinkling etc.", the visual faculty of the waters being obviously considered to reside in their specific property to moisten those who come into contact with them. This line, which forms part of a group of mantras used mainly in a variety of ceremonies connected with water which is implored for blessings (bathing, feet-washing, breaking of water-jars etc.¹⁾), occurs also TS. 5, 6, 1 d; MS. 2, 13, 1 to accompany the Kumbheṣṭakā ceremonies (piling of the great fire-place). Whereas it is not difficult to form an idea of contact with the body of the Waters the glance of their eyes must go back to a more general belief in the power inherent in fixation.

The host "makes use of (takes hold of: *kurute*) a sacrificer's brāhmaṇa, in that he looks at the (portions) to be partaken of, saying 'is this larger or this?'": AV. 9, 6, 18 (*prekṣate*; Ppp. 16, 112, 5 *avekṣate*). This must mean that he acquires that powerfulness which is considered a form or manifestation of brahman and which may be of the nature of knowledge of holy texts (cf. AV. 7, 67, 1 with the comm.; ĀśvGS. 3, 6, 8). If this interpretation be right the mere act of looking could be regarded as practically identical to touching or grasping.

For the equivalence of looking and touching one may also compare KSS. 9, 4, 7 (*nigrābhyāsu vācayaty urasy enā nigrāhya . . .*) etc. to BaudhSS. 7, 5 (*tāsu nigrābhyāsu yajamānam vācayati . . .*); ĀpSS. 12, 9, 1 etc.: according to the former authority the adhvaryu invites the sacrificer to press a definite cup against his breast (cf. ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 15)—another authority, Śāliki, says: against his thigh—, whereas the other texts enjoin him to have the sacrificer pronounce the formula over it, which implies looking at it²⁾.

Agni is RV. 10, 87, 8; AV. 8, 3, 8 implored to lay hold of the person who practises hostile ritual techniques with burning wood and to deliver him over to the eye of the one "who looks with a lordly (and watchful) eye" (*nṛcākṣasaś cākṣuṣe randhayainam*), i.e. to Agni himself. If this is the sense of *nṛcākṣas*—which however in other contexts may admit of the interpretation "watching men"³⁾—the watching eye of an authority,

¹⁾ Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 33; M. Winternitz, in Denkschr. Wiener Akad. 40, p. 44.

²⁾ For particulars see Caland-Henry o.c., p. 150 and Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, p. 258.—For looking and touching in general compare Deonna, Symbolism, p. 70 ff.

³⁾ Geldner, o.c., III, p. 278: "jedenfalls der durchdringende Blick eines Herrn, d.h. Herrschers"; Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 21; 88: "peut-être *nṛcākṣas* n'est-il rien de plus que 'au regard puissant'"; cf. also Gonda, Epithets, p. 110; 155.

of a powerful being appointed or supposed to exercise supervision—however intelligible the image may be in this context—was considered a formidable power or weapon. In RV. st. 12; AV. st. 21 the same god is implored to give that eye with which he detects the 'sorcerers' to the person speaking.

By means of a curious ritual act the wives of those who take part in the sattra⁴⁾ are looked at by the udgātar for the sake of impregnation (*retodhāyāya*, lit. "for placing or discharging one's semen"). "At the sound *hiṃ* (which at the beginning of each turn of the chant is produced by the chanters) they cause them (the wives) to be looked at (*saṃkhyāpayanti*); for after the *hiṃ* the seed is placed (i.e. the pregnancy follows)." The udgātar is identified with Prajāpati, "the lord of offspring" (TS. 6, 5, 8, 6), so that he, by his mere look, is considered to be able to impregnate these women. See also PB. 8, 7, 12 f. BaudhSS. 6, 14: 171, 17 f. *athopariṣṭād aṅgulyāvākāśam kṛtvā yajamānam avekṣayati prajāś tvam anu prāṇīhi, prajāś tvām anu prāṇantv iti*. Here and elsewhere the combination of a gaze and an apposite mantra is to achieve a definite effect.

A look wilfully directed in definite ritual circumstances may be productive and bring about an effect in the ritual sphere. According to ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 18 the wife of the sacrificer has to "look down upon" (*avekṣate*) the sacrificial butter; "for assuredly that wife is a woman, and the butter (represents) seed (*retah*): hence a productive union (*mithunam prajananam*) is thereby brought about. For this reason she looks towards the butter" (*tasmād ājyam avekṣate*). Cf. also TB. 3, 3, 4, 1 f. *patny avekṣate mithunatvāya prajātyai*.

For those concerned in the performance of the pravargya or Hot-milk sacrifice⁵⁾ there are special prescriptions for the various accidents which may happen in the course of this dangerous rite⁶⁾. For instance, at the outset of the ceremony, that is when the pot containing the milk is being heated, the wife of the sacrificer is made to cover her head, "lest this one, when heated and glowing, should rob me of my eyesight" (ŚB. 14, 1, 3, 16). When afterwards her head is uncovered she is made to pronounce, while she is looking at the cooking pot, which is called mahāvira, formulas expressing the wish to have sons, cattle and offspring, and to remain unhurt together with her husband (VS. 37, 20). See also TĀ. 5, 6, 12 *na patny avekṣeta* (sc. the mahāvira). *yat patny avekṣeta, prajāyeta, prajāṃ tv asyai nirdahet. yan navekṣeta, na prajāyeta, nāsyai prajāṃ nirdahet*.

Another interesting passage occurs KS. 31, 9; KapS. 47, 9 *prajāpatir gārhapatyē dhiśrayati. patny avekṣate. patnyā evaiṣa yajñasyānvārambho. 'tho mithunam eva yajñamukhe dadhāti prajananāya. yad vai patnī yajñe karoti tan mithunam. yat patny avekṣate mithunam eva karoti. amedhyam vā etad ayajñīyam yat patny avekṣata. āhavanīye dhiśrayati. medhyam evainad yad yajñīyam karoti. devās ca vā asurās ca samāvad eva yajñe*

⁴⁾ A great and long soma sacrifice.

⁵⁾ Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 153.

⁶⁾ See e.g. ŚB. 14, 1, 1, 33.

'kurvata, yad eva devā akurvata tad asurā akurvata. sa indra etam avakāśam apaśyat. tenāvaiḥṣata, tenāsurān abhyabhavat. tato devā abhavan parāsurā abhavan. (Compare also MS. 4, 1, 12, etc. 7)). That means: "Prajāpati⁸) puts (the sacrificial implements) on the gārhapatya fire. The wife (of the sacrificer) looks (down) on it. This (, one should know, means that) the wife touches the act of sacrificial worship from behind. Next she executes a copulation at the beginning of the sacrificial worship with a view to procreation. Verily, what the wife does with regard to sacrificial worship that is a copulation. In that she casts a look (at it), she executes a copulation. Now that at which she looks becomes impure and unfit for sacrifice. He puts (it) on the āhavanīya. (In doing so) he makes it pure and fit for sacrifice. The gods and the asuras did equally much with regard to sacrificial worship; what the gods did that the asuras did (also). Indra saw this *avakāśa*- (this is the technical name ("a glance cast on something")) of certain mantras during the recitation of which the eyes must be fixed on a particular object). With it he looked (at it). By that he surpassed the asuras. Then the gods were successful (and) the asuras were defeated." The identification of the wife's look not only with a copulation, but also with an act of *anvārambha*-⁹) is of special interest, because this is in ritual texts a frequent procedure to bring about the transmission of the sacral power which is inherent in the sacrificial substance. Thus it reads (ŚB. 4, 2, 5, 4) *ṛtviḥ yajamāno 'nvārabhate . . . tad yajñam evaitad yajamāno 'nvārabhate* "the sacrificer seizes the officiants from behind (that is, each of them holds on to the hem of the garment of the one who precedes him) . . .; hence the sacrificer thereby takes hold of the sacrifice". The wife and the relatives of the sacrificer touch him in a similar way in order to have a share in the sacred power which is generated¹⁰). It is evident that the visual contact mentioned in the passage serves the same purpose.

One of the ritual acts constituting the complex of the Pravargya ceremonies consists in looking at the sun with the mantra *ūd vayām tāmasas pári (svāḥ páśyanta úttaram / devām devatrā sūryam āganma jyótir uttamām* : VS. 20, 21, cf. RV. 1, 50, 10 etc.) "From darkness looking at higher celestial light, a god among the gods, Sūrya, we have come to the highest (most excellent) light". Special attention may be drawn to the conviction that those speaking "have come to the highest light" (MŚS. 4, 3, 41)¹¹). A mere conscious look may obviously serve to come to the conviction that one has attracted part of the sun's wholesome energy.

7) TS. 1, 1, 10; TB. 3, 3, 4 f.; ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 4-28; ĀpŚS. 2, 4-7; etc., and see Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 58 ff.; Schwab, Thieropfer, p. 58 ff.

8) The arch-sacrificer.

9) See especially W. Caland, in Z.D.M.G. 53, p. 215 ff.

10) "Man faszt ja den opfernden Priester, das zum Tode geführt werdende Opfertier an, um sich mystisch am Opfer zu beteiligen" (Caland).

11) For looking at the sun in general see RV. 5, 1, 4.

Before beginning a definite chant, one should cause a sacrificer whom one wishes to reach heaven, to look towards the cātvāla, because the sun originally was here on earth on the place of the cātvāla (i.e. the hole in the ground for constructing the utara-vedi¹²): JB. 1, 87. The PB. enjoins the looking upon the chanters: "In that they chant having looked towards the cātvāla, they bear the sacrificer towards the 'world' of heaven" (PB. 6, 7, 24)¹³). One should know that the sun was raised to heaven, "lest it should burn down all" (JB.). The glance cast on the cātvāla may therefore be expected to effect the sacrificer's rising to heaven.

It is in this connection worth recalling that the adhvaryu while seated on the cart containing the sacrificial rice must look towards the East (i.e. he must, facing the East, look at the sacrificial place, Mahidhara) and mutter the formula (VS. 1, 11b) "May I perceive the light of heaven". "For", ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 21 observes, "that cart being covered up, his eye is thereby as it were affected with evil. Light, moreover, represents the sacrifice, the day, the gods, and the sun; so that he thereby perceives the same (fourfold) light": *tat tathā sati etanmantrakaraṇakena prekṣaṇena svāḥśabdapratipāditam yajñādicatuṣṭayam arthajātam prācyāṃ diśi prathamata upalabhyamānam ato 'smāc chakatasthānād avalokayati* (comm.). While performing a ṣoḍaśin soma feast¹⁴) those concerned should sit down in the sadas and then enter the havirdhāna shed, where the udgātar should look down on the graha destined for Indra ṣoḍaśin muttering a definite mantra. The ṣoḍaśin of him who knows this is said to be "provided with light" (cf. DŚS. 7, 1, 1 ff.; JŚS. 15: 18, 14 ff.; BŚS. 17, 1: 283, 10; ĀpŚS. 14, 2, 4 ff.; KŚS. 12, 5, 2 ff.; JB. 1, 205; PB. 12, 13, 32.)¹⁵).

In describing the ceremonies of marriage¹⁶) some authorities (ĀpGS. 6, 12; HirGS. 1, 22, 10 ff.; JaimGS. 1, 21 etc.) enjoin the bridegroom to make the bride look at the pole-star (*dhruva*-), the star Arundhatī and the Seven seers (i.e. Ursa major); while looking at them she should address the pole-star as follows (Jaim.; similarly GobhGS. 2, 3, 8 ff.): "Thou art *dhruva*- (i.e. "firm, immovable, constant, steadfast" and "the pole-star"); may I become firm (steadfast) in the house of my husband So-and-so"; while looking at Arundhatī she should pronounce the formula: "Arundhatī, may I be held fast (*aruddhā*) by my husband So-and-so". The fixed regard helps to transfer part of the power, which is on the strength

¹²) L. Renou, Vocabulaire du rituel védique, Paris 1954, p. 67.

¹³) Cf. W. Caland's note, Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa translated, Calcutta 1931, p. 120.

¹⁴) See e.g. J. C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 12 ff.

¹⁵) See also Caland, Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, p. 309.

¹⁶) A. Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, Strassburg 1897, p. 68; P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, II, Poona 1941, p. 530. For full detail: M. J. Dresden, Mānavagrhyaśūtra, Thesis Utrecht 1941, p. 71 f., who (p. 195) quotes Frazer, The Golden Bough, I, p. 166 referring to a sonnet of Keats: "Bright star! Would I were steadfast as thou art."

of their names believed to be inherent in these celestial bodies, to the young woman who is speaking. VārGS. 15, 21 prescribes another formula: "May we (plur.), (being) firm (not fallen), fixed (steadfast), with a steadfast (faithful) husband (*dhruvapatnī*), see the pole-star everywhere", the text stating that the husband should make his wife see the stars (*darśayitvā*). Whereas the author of the HirGS., o.c., without mentioning the woman's looking and the accompanying formulas, prescribes an abundance of other mantras with which the stars are to be worshipped, MānGS. 1, 14, 9 has, after the direction: "he should make her look at the pole-star . . .", the man pronounce the following mantra: "Unshakable, steadfast, a steadfast wife (must she be); may we look steadfast in every direction; steadfast are these mountains; steadfast (must) this woman (be) in the family of her husband"; meanwhile, the woman looks at the stars. It should be noticed that the look is also said to be steadfast. According to an interpolated stanza in the Rāmāyaṇa (after 3, 51, 14, n° 1017) a man who is not able to see Arundhatī will die very soon.

A deliberate look cast in a ritual context may enable a person to come into contact with ¹⁷⁾ and to repeat for his good, a mythological event which is replete with beneficial power. Thus by looking intentionally at an object which a god had, in mythological times, seen or regarded first one becomes able to repeat a divine act of power. TB. 3, 3, 5, 1: the man who knowing Indra's exemplary act looks at the sacrificial butter will prosper and conquer his enemies: ¹⁸⁾ *devāsurāḥ saṃyattā āsan. sa etam indra ājyasvāvakāśam apaśyat. tenāvaikṣata. tato devā abharan. parāsurāḥ. ya evaṃ vidvān ājyam avekṣate, bhavaty ātmanā, parāsyā bhrātṛvyo bhavati*. Another instance is KS. 7, 9: 70, 19 f. *vaiśvadevīr vā etā, vaiśvadevīr imāḥ prajā. brāhmaṇo yoneḥ prajāḥ prajāyante. yad eṣā brāhmaṇaspatyā brāhmaṇa evainā yoneḥ prajānayat, etābhir vā aditīḥ putrān anvaiḥṣata . . . iti tam etābhir anvīkṣeta*.

The creative value of the ritually prescribed and consciously fixed look is also apparent from TĀ. 5, 6, 11 *rucitam avekṣante — rucitād vai prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata — prajānām sṛṣṭyai* "they (the officiants) look at the bright-and-agreeable (the mahāvīra vessel). From the bright-and-agreeable (the m.) Prajāpati created the creatures. It (their looking) is for creating creatures". The text continues: *rucitam avekṣante — rucitād vai parjanya*

¹⁷⁾ It may be interesting to notice that even in twentieth century Java traces of this power of the fixed eye are still found. During the ceremonies accompanying the military parades called Garēbēg, at the court of Djokjakarta, "the sultan used to sit motionless on his golden throne, his arms resting on his thighs, the fingers crossed, not uttering a single word. His gaze was directed towards the so-called White Pole" — that is an "erect stone column" (*tuḡu*), held to represent the liṅga (C. Hooykaas, Āgama Tīrtha, Amsterdam Acad. 1964, p. 145) — "while his mind was believed to be concentrated on the Most High, to invoke His blessings for his own person and for his country and people" (R. Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo, De Garēbēgs in het sultanaat Jogjakarta, Djokjakarta 1931, p. 105 f.).

¹⁸⁾ For this passage see also above, p. 21 f.; further on, p. 53.

varṣati —, *varṣukaḥ parjanya bhavati*; that means: by looking as prescribed they exert influence on the process of raining and the prosperous growth of the living creatures because Parjanya ('Rain'), i.e. the cloud, rains "from or because of (*karmānusthānadvārāt*, comm.) the bright-and-agreeable". And so on.

That the significance of visual contact was understood and that special value was attached to the correct performance of that act appears also very clearly from a controversial issue related in ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 26. The author of this brāhmaṇa enjoins the adhvaryu to look, in definite circumstances, on the sacrificial butter, making mention of the opinion of a great authority, Yājñavalkya, on this point, who after raising the question as to whether the sacrificer himself could not act as adhvaryu, "why do not they (the sacrificers) themselves recite when far higher blessings are prayed for?" answered in the negative because "whatever blessing the officiating priests invoke during the sacrifice that is for the benefit of the sacrificer alone". In the parallel passage the Kāṇva recension explicitly observes that "whatever blessing resides in the act of looking, for that the sacrificer should" (according to some authorities) "pray for himself".

The equivalence of the sight of a thing or event and other modes of direct contact is also apparent from the use of words for "seeing" in contexts such as Jagaddeva, Svapnacintāmaṇi, 2, 27 "(The man) who (in a dream) eats, sees or receives cooked food . . . goes to ruin"; 2, 100 "Whoever (in a dream) lies or sits on a heap of stones, bones . . . or sees (these objects) will be poor or die"; 2, 120: "Whoever sees or receives the leaves of definite plants will soon perish".

That the look of an animal which is regarded as powerful may be dangerous appears from AV. 12, 5, 20: "the cow of the brahman is sharp-edged when looking; when bellowing, she thunders at one"; cf. AV. Ppp. 16, 142, 7 "she is a thunder-weapon when running, a missile weapon when drawing out her hooves, a sharp-edged (like a wheel-band) when gazing (at a person)." It may be remembered that any offence against the cow of a brahman is considered a heinous crime which leads to serious misfortune. Here the animal is obviously believed to radiate some form of noxious power. There must moreover be a definite correlation between the qualities displayed ("sharp-edged", "thunderbolt") and the way of looking of the animal. The cow of the brahman which is a thunderbolt when running (AV. 12, 5, 18) etc., is also called a (the) great god when looking away (ibid. 19 *mahādevō 'pēkṣamāṇā*). This seems to mean that her divinity is apparent from the way she looks, or: when she looks in a particular way she makes her true, i.e. divine, character manifest.

Hence also the widespread conviction that the blazing looks proceeding from the distended eyes of angry and powerful beings are terrible and unbearable: MatsyaP. 179, 75 f. *pradhāvitā . . . krodhavisphāritekṣaṇāḥ || avisahyatamaṃ tāsāṃ drṣṭitejaḥ sudāraṇam*. The belief that the look of a snake is poisonous and that this animal can, by means of its eyes, exert

a baleful influence is, in various countries of the East, wide-spread¹⁹). Hence Sanskrit names of this animal such as *dr̥gviṣa-* or *dr̥ṣṭivīṣa-* "in whose glance is poison". The belief is even reported that a definite snake called "the heavenly one" (*dībya-*) could poison the atmosphere with its eyes²⁰). The harm done by the eye of a snake may however be counteracted by a magically potent reciprocation of the glance: AV. 5, 13, 4 "With sight (*cakṣuṣā*) I smite thy sight; with poison I smite thy poison; die, O snake..."²¹). In spite of the later Hindu belief that snake poison does not hurt a snake the author of this text obviously believed in the well-known ritual inversion of the process of malefaction. The accompanying rite (Kauś. 29, 6), a clockwise circumambulation of the person bitten by the reptile, to be performed after a circumambulation in the reverse order²²), is of an ambivalent character. The circumambulation from right to left confines the evil power, the *pradakṣiṇa* is executed for self-protection. AiB. 6, 1, 4 the eyes of a serpent seer who is considered to be a poisonous snake which looks at the soma are bound with a turban. It is moreover not surprising to find that the idea of the fatal look of so-called poison-damsels²³) should have crept into literary versions of popular tales and other products of literary fancy²⁴), the less so as it was even believed that the air which clings to a virtuous and meritorious person brings gladness even to those who are condemned to hell (Mār̥kP. 15, 52 f.)²⁵). That a look was also compared to lightning appears from proper names of demons etc. such as Vidyudakṣa, Vidyullocana²⁶).

That these and other practices were also prompted by the conviction that it was part of a being's essence which was made to leave him through the eyes so as to touch or affect others may also be inferred from places such as Bhaṭṭikāvya 9, 4 *śaktyr̥ṣṭi-*... *-pāṇayaḥ*... *prāpur vanam dr̥ṣṭivī-*

¹⁹) Seligmann, Zauberkraft des Auges, p. 163 ff.; J. Ph. Vogel, Indian serpent-lore, London 1926, p. 7.

²⁰) Wise, Commentary on the Hindu system of medicine, London 1860, p. 399, quoted by Tawney-Penzer, The Ocean of Story, II, p. 298; N. M. Penzer, Poison-damsels, London 1952, p. 29 ff. For similar convictions of the Arabs etc. see Tawney-Penzer, o.c., II, p. 298 ff.

²¹) The Paipp. recension (8, 2, 3) however reads "with force I smite thy force (*balam*)".

²²) Caland, Een indogermaansch lustratiegebruik, Amsterdam Acad. 1898, p. 311; the same, Altind. Zauberritual, p. 91, n. 6.

²³) Penzer, Poison-damsels, especially p. 29 ff.

²⁴) See also Elworthy, Evil Eye, Hastings' E.R.E., V, p. 608 ff.; Funk and Wagnall, Standard dictionary of folklore, I, New York 1949, p. 371.

²⁵) See also Herz, Giftmädchen, p. 112. For a certain parallelism between the vigour of the eye and the breath in Roman antiquity see H. Wagenvoort, Roman dynamism, Oxford 1947, p. 129; Penzer, Poison-damsels, p. 23 f.; 30 ff. (the breath of poison-nourished girls pollutes the air; the breath of a dragon causes death; breath and look of certain poison-damsels bring sudden death, etc.).

²⁶) In the Old-Javanese Tantu Paṅgëlaran two divine beings are said to have words like thunder, looks like lightning (p. 97).

ṣopamāḥ "they seized spears, javelins... and, like (snakes), whose looks are poisonous, reached the forest"; a commentator adds that these animals are able to kill by their mere glance.

The wife of the sacrificer is girded with a cord, because, ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 13 says, "impure is that part of a woman which is below the navel and therefore with she will be facing the sacrificial butter; he conceals that part of her, and only with the pure upper part of her body she then faces the butter." Moreover, girding a wife seems to have possessed a significance similar to that of an 'investiture' (upanayana) or consecration (dikṣā) in case of a man (TB. 3, 3, 3, 2 f.)²⁷). Anyhow this precaution was to prevent the woman from transferring by her looks something inauspicious.

Under definite circumstances a look may be dangerous and much dreaded. The god Bhaga lost his eyes because he had looked at the *prāṣitram*, i.e. the portion of the oblation eaten by the brahman at a sacrifice (KB. 6, 13 *tad bhagāya pariṣahrus, tasyākṣiṇī nirjaghāna*; ŚB. 1, 7, 4, 6; Yāska, Nir. 12, 14). Those concerned are dissuaded from looking at a definite sacrificial vessel when it is empty (*udrikta-*), because this object would certainly devour them (ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 40). An empty vessel is, also in later times, regarded as inauspicious²⁸). Eying a powerful or dangerous being (*in casu*, the god Agni) may entail weakness of the eyes (ŚB. 7, 3, 2, 14). The fact that a face to face encounter with a dangerous power may harm the eye of the person who is in this situation no doubt explains the formulation of the mantra to be used by the wife of the sacrificer when she has to look down on the pot of sacrificial butter: VS. 1, 30; ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 19 *ādabdhena tvā cakṣuṣāvapaśyāmi* "I look upon thee with an eye uninjured". Cf. TS. 1, 1, 10, 3k etc. where this woman is said to look at the oblation while pronouncing this formula with the addition "for fair offspring". According to the commentators Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on VS. 1, 30 the woman has to look downwards (*avācīnam yathā tathā-dhomukhī satī paśyāmi*).

Among the rules to be observed in purchasing the soma²⁹) is the obligation of the buyer to avert his face and to avoid drawing near the soma when he has invited the seller to clean the plants³⁰). Nor should the soma be selected by the sacrificer, the *adhvaryu* or their servants; these people

²⁷) See also my remarks in Indo-Ir. Journal 8 (1964), p. 22 f.

²⁸) J. von Negelein, Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva, Giessen 1912, p. 128; "even now if a Bengali on going out of his house meets a person carrying an empty pitcher he turns back, and waits a minute or two" (Tawney-Penzer, o.c., II, p. 164, n. 3). A full vessel is very auspicious and popular with all ranks of people; there is practically no festive occasion in which it is not installed and it is still the custom to give presents of vessels filled with rice and coins. Hence also Somadeva, Kss. 92, 123 "... every word uttered was attended with full vessels". See e.g. V.S. Agrawala, Indian Art, Varanasi 1965, passim (index, p. 381) and H. Günther, in Proc. All India Or. Conf. XVI (Lucknow 1955), p. 251 ff.

²⁹) Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 30; Caland, Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, p. 164 f.

³⁰) See Caland, in Z.D.M.G. 56 (1902), p. 552 f.

should, moreover, abstain from looking at the soma when it is selected. If not, their children would be starvelings, the sacrificer would be seized by poverty and the adhvaryu by hunger. The seller is accordingly fenced in ³¹). (MS. 3, 7, 4: 79, 7 ff. *somaṃ vicinvarianti pāpavasīyasya vyāvṛtṭyā, atho devebhya evainam śundhanti. nādhvaryuḥ somaṃ vicinuyān, na yajamāno na yajamānasya puruṣā nopadraṣṭāro vicīyamānasya syur. yad upadraṣṭāro vicīyamānasya syuḥ, kṣudham praṣā nīyur avartir yajamānam grhṇīyāt, kṣodhuko 'dhvaryuḥ syāt*; KS. 24, 2: 91, 3; BaudhŚS. 6, 10; ĀpŚS. 10, 20, 15–19; MŚS. 2, 1, 3, 50–55; KŚS. 7, 6, 1–6 and compare MŚS. 2, 1, 4, 54 *nādhvaryuḥ somaṃ vicinuyād iti prasiddham prekṣanam ca*).

Another text to show that this belief quite naturally leads to precautionary measures occurs in the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka. In offering to Rudra, i.e. in giving him a share in order to appease him—as is well known this dreaded god “wird abgefunden, um ihn los zu werden” ³²)—one should touch water for ritual purity without looking at the sacrificial matter. Compare the comm. on TĀ. 4, 10, 4 *śakalaparityāgākāle taddarśanam niṣedhati*. If one should look one's eye would be liable to be destroyed: TĀ. 5, 8, 9 f. *apa upaspr̥ṣati medhyatvāya. nānvikṣeta. yad anvīkṣeta, cakṣur asya pramāyukaṃ syāt. tasmān nānvīkṣyaḥ*.

Casting a glance at sacrificial matter may indeed be highly dangerous: TS. 6, 5, 6, 5 “after sacrificing he should not look after (it); if he were to look after (it) his eye would be likely to be destroyed”. Those who are afflicted by misfortune, e.g. the death of a guru, should carry their fire to the South with the words “I send far away the flesh-devouring Agni” (RV. 10, 16, 9), throw that fire down at a place where four roads meet, walk round it three times while turning their left sides towards it and finally return home without looking back, bathe, have their hair etc. cut, furnish themselves with new jars, pots and vessels etc. (ĀśvGŚ. 4, 6, 1 ff.): quite unequivocally a series of measures to neutralize the contact with the manifestation of misfortune and adversity and to prevent new contagion from arising. It is therefore not surprising that the authorities to whom we owe the ritual texts prohibited those who were engaged in disposing of a deceased relation from looking at a definite act or object or from looking back. “In dem östlichen Teil des śmaśāna legt der adhvaryu hundert Ziegel nieder, indem er, den Blick zur Seite wendend, über jedem Ziegel den mantra ausspricht: ‘In der Erde Welt setze ich dich (O Ziegel!); des N.N. Decke bist du . . .’” ³³). Complying with this request

³¹) We might refer here to an ancient Roman parallel adduced by Wagenvoort, Roman dynamism, p. 145: Verg. Aen. 3, 405 ff., where the poet transplants a pontifical taboo connected with the evil eye to prehistoric times: “. . . purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu, / ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum / hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.” Here “the *hostilis facies* undoubtedly is the stranger's evil eye”.

³²) Cf. E. Arberman, Rudra, Uppsala 1922, p. 55.

³³) W. Caland, Die altindischen Toten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, Amsterdam Acad. 1896, p. 156 f., and p. 158, n. 568.

part of those present used to enwrap their faces. Authorities were also agreed upon the necessity to withdraw from the burning pyre without looking back ³⁴). Cf. also KŚS. 25, 7, 39 *anapekṣam etyopaspr̥ṣanty apah* i.e. *citim anapekṣamāṇā etya* etc.

A similar ritual instruction is mentioned and explained at ŚB. 7, 2, 1, 17 “On the space between (the sacrificer and the bricks) he pours out a jarful of water; water is a thunderbolt: with a thunderbolt he thus separates himself from evil, destruction . . . They go back (to the sacrificial ground) without looking back: by not looking back they thus remove evil, destruction”.—After having performed a definite sacrificial act within the framework of the soma sacrifice one should not look after (it). “If one were to do so one's eye would be likely to be destroyed; therefore one should not look after it” (TS. 6, 5, 6, 5).

At the end of a dikṣā period the sacrificer and his wife have to bathe in order to dispose of the special power or ‘sacredness’ with which they were endowed during the state of consecration. The texts not only prescribe putting on new clothes, but also forbid them to look back “in order to separate themselves from Varuṇa” (the ‘binding’ or ‘seizing’ god ³⁵) who fetters those who do not conform to the rules, norms and obligations of moral and ritual purity). See e.g. KŚS. 10, 8, 4; 5, 5, 31 ff.; BaudhŚS. 8, 20; ĀpŚS. 13, 21, 1 f. ³⁶).

A direction of similar purport occurs in the description of the Indra-mahotsava given in Kauś. 140, 20: “After having bathed . . . and touched (sipped) water (for ablution and ritual purification), they return (from the river to the place of the rite) without looking (back) at (the place where they have bathed)” ³⁷) and AVPar. 19, 3, 7 ³⁸): “After having returned without looking round, he (the royal sacrificer) should satisfy completely the brahmans with devoted homage and . . . bestowal of boons”. In connection with the usage of letting the Indra tree, which is a sacred and revered object, down at night, Meyer ³⁹) at the time made the apposite remark that it is not the dark period, favourable for magical practices, which is meant here, but darkness preventing those present from seeing the inauspicious event. One might quote KālPur. 90, 52 ff. and 91, 57 f. and Hemādri, Cat. III, 2, p. 911 in substantiation: the king must not see such inauspicious occurrences as eclipses of sun and moon and the fall of the Indradhvaja.

From these traditions and prescriptions it may be inferred that visual

³⁴) Caland, Toten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, p. 73.

³⁵) S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund-Copenhagen 1946, p. 63 ff. etc.

³⁶) Compare also The Savayajñas, p. 396.

³⁷) Cf. also Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, p. 11, n. 6.

³⁸) Cf. my article The Indra festival according to the Atharvavedins, in J.A.O.S. 87 (1968), p. 413 ff.

³⁹) J. J. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, III, p. 112; 114.

contact with an entity or event which is potent as well as dangerous (cf. also TS. 3, 5, 5, 2 in connection with the Āditya-graha) may at the wrong moment deprive a man of his eyesight, although in the right ritual circumstances they produce the effects formulated in, and demanded by, the mantras. In short, "man darf dorthin nicht blicken, wo sich eine göttliche oder dämonische Macht bemerkbar macht" ⁴⁰). Hence no doubt also injunctions in connection with tabooed situations such as that related in ĀpGS. (2.) 6, 2: "Let the (newly married) woman (on her journey to her new home) when she is crossing (a river) not see the crew" ⁴¹).

The wife of the sacrificer who, like the adhvaryu and the sacrificer himself, has to gaze upon the sacrificial butter should therefore take precautions against any imminent danger: TB. 3, 3, 5, 2 "The person who looks with his eye at that (the butter) runs the risk of going blind. He should (therefore) look at it after having shut and re-opened his eyes (*nimilyāvekṣeta*). Then he will preserve his visual faculty": an instance of the usual procedure, in the brāhmaṇas, to save the situation. If some form of contact is unavoidable, a means is devised by which one can safely escape. — The rathantara (the technical name of various sāmans or tunes) is liable to destroy the eyesight of the udgātar. That is why this functionary should shut his eyes and open them at (the words) "seeing the light", for in this manner he is not deprived of his eyesight (PB. 7, 7, 15 *īśvaram vai rathantaram udgātus cakṣuḥ pramathitoḥ. prastūyamāne sammīlet svaḍṛśaṃ prativikṣeta. nainaṃ cakṣur jahāti*).

Another custom relating to a sacrificial vessel occurs ŚSS. 7, 3, 1 "Having accepted (from the adhvaryu) the Indra-Vāyu cup (which contains the soma part of which has been poured into the fire) with (the formula) . . . he (the hotar) puts it down on his right (uncovered) thigh. He may neither cover the cups destined for the pairs of deities nor gaze at them until the remains ⁴² have been poured into it" (. . . *ūrau dakṣiṇe nidhāyānapi-dhānam anavekṣaṇaṃ ca . . . ā śeṣasyāvanayanāt*) (for this act see ŚSS. 7, 4, 15 and compare ĀsvSS. 5, 5, 9 *pratigrhya dakṣiṇam ūrum apocchādya tasmin sādayitvākāśavatibhir aṅgulibhir apidadhyāt*) ⁴³). This direction, which seems to have been proper to the Kauṣītikins ⁴⁴, is elucidated by

⁴⁰) Aly in Hdwtb. d. deutschen Aberggl., VIII, 1346; compare also H. Usener, Kleine Schriften, IV, Leipzig-Bonn 1913, p. 55; and The Savayajñas, p. 431.

⁴¹) One should therefore realize that vague translations such as "gazing around" also in cases such as Bhār. PaitS. 2, 5, 1 *īṣṭakāḥ pratidīśam ananvīkṣamāṇa upadadhāti* may create misunderstanding (cf. C. G. Kashikar, Sūtras of Bharadvāja, Poona 1964, p. 488).

⁴²) For the significance of remains see my observations in Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou, Paris 1968, p. 301 ff.

⁴³) See also Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 201. For other particulars see W. Caland, Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra, Nagpur 1953, p. 168; the same, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, Amsterdam Acad. 1924, p. 288.

⁴⁴) Cf. e.g. ĀpSS. 12, 21, 6.

KB. 13, 5 from which it appears that the cup contains the breaths (vital powers) which should not be covered, i.e. suffocated. When, after some other acts, the hotar is to offer a libation he must with the mantra "To thee, who possessest a lordly-and-watchful eye (*nṛcakṣaṣam* ⁴⁵), I who possess a lordly-and-watchful eye (*nṛcakṣāḥ*) look forward (*pratīkṣe*)" look at (*pratīkṣya*) the bowl and after receiving it touch it with his breast and the three bowls containing the soma destined for the pairs of deities (ŚSS. 7, 4, 4).

This belief in the significance of a directed look explains also the curious direction found at ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 35: when during the performance of the pravargya after addressing oneself to the Fathers one conceals a stick under the barhis of the southern part—the direction of the Fathers—of the sacrificial bed, one should look towards (*īkṣ-*) the North—the direction of men—and accordingly not look at the stick and the southern part of the vedi. The brāhmaṇa adds in explanation: "And as to why he does not look at (*prekṣate*) it—once for all the Fathers have passed away." It would no doubt be dangerous to direct a glance to the South, because this would constitute a means of contact with the Fathers who could lure the person looking to their place. One must in a similar way look southwards when performing an act relating to Rudra who resides in the North (ibid. 38): "as to why he does not look at it, he does so thinking 'Lest Rudra should do me harm'".

Sacrificial matter and, more generally, any holiness being conceived as dangerous needs to be insulated or kept within narrow bounds, lest it should blast or destroy whatever it comes into contact with. According to Mahīdhara on VS. 1, 9 the words "(Be thou) wide open to the wind" are it is true addressed to the cart which contains the rice required for the sacrifice (cf. ŚB. 1, 1, 2, and esp. 1, 1, 2, 14) but the wide room is to let the wind blow through the rice (*tadantarvartivrihiṣu vāyusaṃcārāya vistīrṇaṃ bhava*). While speaking one should "look away from the rice" (comm); that implies: interrupt any form of contact with it.

Looking at the pravargya while this is being heated could be very dangerous. Says the TĀ. 5, 3, 7: "He who keeps gazing at (*anvīkṣate*) the pravargya is liable to become blind. One says (i.e. when one looks at it): 'I gaze at thee with the eye of the sun', for protection of the eye." See also ĀpSS. 15, 4, 7; MŚS. 4, 1, 26, the former text adding: "for straightness (sincerity, correctness), for rightness, for safety, for prosperity" ⁴⁶). The theory underlying this prescription probably is a belief in the greater power of the eye of the sun which may neutralize the dangerous properties of the pravargya vessel.

⁴⁵) See Epithets in the R̥gveda, The Hague 1959, p. 110; 155. Another translation is "who beholdest men" (thus W. Caland, Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra, Nagpur 1953, p. 169).

⁴⁶) Cf. TĀ. 4, 3, 3.

Among the rules of abstinence to be observed when teaching the *pravargya* rite is (ŚB. 14, 1, 1, 31) also the prohibition of looking (*na prekṣeta*) at a woman, a *śūdra*, a dog and a crow because these are 'untruth' (*anṛtam*), i.e. anomalies, while the hot draught of milk (the central element of the rite) is excellence, truth and light: "one should therefore not look at these, lest one should mingle excellence and evil, light and darkness, truth and untruth". There can be no doubt that here also looking at an object means entering into contact with the properties of that object or with the powers or 'conceptions' which that object stands for and that there was from the ritual point of view no essential difference between looking and touching.

The *sadas* (shed erected in the sacrificial place for the soma vehicles) must be enclosed on all sides, because a generation is to take place which, like sexual intercourse of human beings, should not be seen by others, "because failed (defective and hence sinful: *vyṛddham* 47)) is the intercourse which another sees"; "even a husband and wife when seen *in coitu* run away from each other, for they commit a sin (or rather, "give offence": *āga eva kurvāte*)". Therefore to any one looking (*prekṣ-*) into the *sadas* one must say "do not look!" (ŚB. 4, 6, 7, 9). The same rule applies to the *havirdhāna*, i.e. the shed for the soma vehicles (ibid. 10). It would appear to me that prescriptions like these are ultimately explicable from man's innate uneasiness or embarrassment at being an eye witness of acts which he would not do himself publicly or of situations in which he feels himself, or is regarded as, an intruder. The vague feelings of uneasiness, confusion or embarrassment may – and, I am sure, will – be interpreted in accordance with the main trends of the view of life and world prevailing in the culture or cultural and social environment to which one belongs. In ancient India a married couple seen *in coitu* committed, or produced, *āgas-* which, usually translated by "sin" 48), is an offensive act representing a manifestation of impurity or a result of a transgression in the ritual or religious sphere and as such a cause or source of 'contagion' or ritual pollution. The man who witnesses an act resulting in *āgas-* runs the serious risk of becoming impure and infected with 'evil'. There is also another aspect of the prescription contained in the *brāhmaṇa* place under examination: just as sexual intercourse witnessed by intruders is interrupted (see above), so the man who looks into the *sadas* prevents the process which is taking place there from being completed.

47) Not "improper" (Eggeling, in S.B.E. 26, p. 437).

48) I refer to S. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil*, Lund 1946, esp. p. 138 ff. – Arriving at the conclusion that Gr. *ἄγος* rendered by "Fluch, (Blut)schuld" or "any matter of religious awe" really expresses the idea of "interdit religieux" P. Chantraine and O. Masson, in *Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung*, Festschrift – A. Debrunner, Bern 1954, p. 85 ff. reject the oft proposed etymological association with skt. *āgas-*. A thorough investigation of the sense of the latter term may however deprive their argument of its cogency.

V

Hence the necessity of protecting oneself and others against the evil eye: AV. 14, 2, 12 "I cause the bridal car to be viewed by the houses with a friendly, not a terrible eye . . ." (. . . *āghoreṇa cākṣuṣā*) 1), and of paying homage to a potency's – *in casu* the *gandharva*'s 2) – "terrible" or "angry" (*bhāma-*) eye: 14, 2, 35. See also 4, 9, 6 "Protect us, O ointment, from the evil eye (*cākṣuṣo ghorāt*) of an enemy", a source of evil which in this stanza is put on a par with charms, evil dreams etc., the text being at Kauś. 58, 8 prescribed to accompany the binding of an ointment-amulet in order to protect somebody against a premature death 3).

It is not without reason that the eyes of the Vedic bride were to be anointed with sacrificial butter (ŚGS. 1, 16, 5) to the accompaniment of the words RV. 10, 85, 44 (cf. AV. 12, 2, 17) "be without the evil eye, not husband-slaking . . ." (*āghoracakṣur āpatighny edhi*). Sacrificial butter is a form of life-juice (ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 3) and credited with purifying and consecratory qualities (3, 1, 2, 11); it is also prescribed to fortify a person and to protect him against evil 4). The eye of a stranger or of an outsider may carry various kinds of evil and the first marital contact requires precautions 5). As is well known, strangers, who are often suspected of practising magic arts, may, voluntarily or involuntarily, exert a baneful influence which must be counteracted.

The fear of polluting, longing or envious glances of spectators at a meal 6) and the various taboos resulting from the belief that men of high rank should not be seen eating or drinking by onlookers, especially by those lower in the social scale, the motive sometimes being explicitly mentioned, viz. fear of the evil eye – a fear to which the natural uneasiness of the man who eats his fill in the sight of the poor and hungry is no doubt not foreign – has also given rise to interesting ritual customs and directions 7). Even the gods were supposed to cast covetous eyes on the

1) Cf. M. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsritual*, Denkschriften Acad. Wien 40 (1892), p. 70.

2) *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 101.

3) For the use of ointments etc. see M. Bloomfield, *Am. J. Phil.* 17, p. 404 ff.

4) *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 33; 35; 118.

5) I refer to Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsritual*, p. 25 ff.; 84 ff.

6) "It is unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating" (W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London 1906, p. 263). It is however worth while to consider, in connection with taboos relating to the ruler or chief, also those aspects which are emphasized by H. Webster, *Le Tabou*, Paris 1952, p. 248: "A Samoa, les chefs de haut rang prenaient toujours leurs repas isolément, parce que tout ce qu'ils touchaient était réputé acquérir leur propre sainteté. . . . Un danger de mort imminente atteignant quiconque touchait le chef ou les objets par lui touchés . . .". Another indicium of the similarity of looking and touching.

7) I refer to some remarks and quotations made in my article on *Atharvaveda* 11, 7, *Mélanges-Renou*, p. 307 f. For envy and the fear of being its object in semi-primitive milieus see also M. Orans, *The Santal*, Detroit 1965, p. 152 s.v.

objects which they desire. The gods excluded Rudra from a share in the domestic animals; hence this god—who wishes to slay them—fixed his looks on them during the vāmadevya laud which is believed to be cattle (PB. 7, 9, 16, cf. 4, 8, 15).

The widespread aversion to being watched by outsiders⁸⁾, especially by those who might be envious, when one has one's meals, induced Manu (3, 239) to forbid a cāṇḍāla, a hog, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and a eunuch to look at brahmans while they eat. The aversion to impure animals, misshapen persons, etc. is intelligible and well-known; the cock, which is on the one hand a representative of sexual potency and fertility and on the other hand believed to be apotropaeic⁹⁾, is credited with keen sight¹⁰⁾. Medhātithi adds an interesting explanatory remark: "Though it has been declared that these persons shall not look at close quarters, yet what cultured people avoid is being near the place. . . . What is meant is the injunction that, since, as a rule, the pig is prone to sniff at the food, and the cock is prone to flap its wings etc. . . ., therefore one should (avoid these places)".

Mention may here be made of a curious ritual practice¹¹⁾ which takes place on the occasion of an offering to the deceased ancestors (HGS. 2, 11, 4 ff.): the sacrificer should feed an odd number of brahmans, the food being an oblation which is sacrificed in their mouths, and the mantra relative to this act being: "I establish myself in prāṇa and I sacrifice food of 'immortality' ". While they are eating the sacrificer looks at them saying: "My ātman dwells in brahman, that it may be free from death". This ritual practice seems to be the counterpart of the taboo on seeing a person of high rank eating or drinking, because in this case the sacrificer obviously wishes to enter into a communion with, or to participate in, the specific virtue of the brahmans which at this moment is liable to leave their mouths and to be seized upon by the onlooker¹²⁾.

Objects of value should therefore be protected against the envious or inimical looks of the evil-eyed one. That is why precautionary measures should be taken in dealing with the soma: TS. 3, 2, 10, 1g "O Viṣṇu, wide striding one, this is thy soma; guard it; let not the evil-eyed one espy this of thine" (*taṁ te duścakṣā māva khyat*). As to the formula compare KS. 4, 2: 30, 14 ff. *upayāmagr̥hito 'sy, aśvibhyāṁ, tvaṣa te yonir, viṣṇor urukrame, taṁ rakṣasva, mā tvā dabhan, duścakṣās te māvakṣat* ". . .

⁸⁾ See also L. Dumont, *Homo hierarchicus*, Paris 1966, p. 76.

⁹⁾ Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, III, p. 299; Frazer, p. 592 ff. For an interesting case of contagio in connection with this animal see F. R. Lehmann, *Die polynesischen Tabusitten*, Leipzig 1930, p. 130.

¹⁰⁾ F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 81; 89.

¹¹⁾ For a more detailed discussion see my article *Atharvaveda* 11, 7 in *Mélanges-Renou*, p. 301 ff., esp. p. 308 f.

¹²⁾ Cf. also Frazer, *o.c.*, p. 261 f.

let them not harm thee; the evil-eyed one should not injure thee"¹³⁾.

Among the mantras to be recited for the āditya graha in the third pressing (soma sacrifice) is also TS. 3, 5, 5, 1 "Sūrya, the god, must protect me against the gods; Vāyu against the atmosphere; Agni, the sacrificer, against the eye"; that is, as already observed by Caland¹⁴⁾ and Keith¹⁵⁾, the evil eye¹⁶⁾. This formula is pronounced when the adhvaryu covers the cup with darbha blades on his hand.

It is quite clear that the injunction not to look at the sacrificial animals when they are offered is to prevent a brahman onlooker from 'taking' them: KS. 28, 6: 161, 8 *anyatrekṣamāṇo juhōti . . . paśūnām gopīthāya. yadīkṣeta brāhmaṇa upadraṣṭā paśūn gṛhṇīyāt. paśūnām eva pradīyamānānām anupadraṣṭā bhavati* "One sacrifices whilst averting one's face . . . for the protection of cattle. If a brahman who is an onlooker would look (at the cup) he would take away the cattle; (thus) he is not an onlooker when cattle is given away". Cf. KapS. 44, 6: 262, 18; ĀpŚS. 13, 10, 2. MS. 4, 6, 9: 93, 4 ff. . . . *paśavo vā ādityo 'gnī rudro brāhmaṇa upadraṣṭā yadīkṣamāṇo juhuyāt pradīyamānānām eṣām upadraṣṭā syād anyatrekṣamāṇena hotavyam anupadraṣṭaiṣām bhavati*. Compare also KapS. 44, 6. " . . . Darauf legt er das Thier mit dem Kopf nach W. und den Füßen nach N. . . . Darauf kehren alle dem Thiere den Rücken . . . Dem prṣadājya gegenüber setzen sich alle nach Süden schauend nieder"¹⁷⁾. The last instruction is likewise significant: the South is the region of the deceased.

There is however no reason to suppose that the evil eye was always envious. There is also the angry or furious eye, the offensive meaningful look, etc. Although the commentary on AV. 6, 96, 3 "If with eye, with mind, and if with speech we have come near (i.e. offended)¹⁸⁾ . . ." may be right in observing that *cakṣuṣā* here denotes, by implication, also the other organs of sense, places like this again show that the eye was considered the first among them, and that it was in the first place the eye which conveys the offensive feelings. See also TB. 2, 4, 2, 1 *yo mā cakṣuṣā yo manasā yo vācā brahmaṇāghāyur abhidāsati* "(the malicious one) who treats me as an enemy by (his) eye, (his) mind, his speech, by manifestations of brahman (incantations) . . .".

¹³⁾ For the other mantras quoted see M. Bloomfield, *A Vedic concordance*, Cambridge Mass. 1906, s.s.v.v. For the use of the genitive see J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leiden 1886, p. 89, § 121, 4c.

¹⁴⁾ Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. 331.

¹⁵⁾ Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 282, where also the variants.

¹⁶⁾ "Das Bedecken, 'um das Vieh zu behüten', nach MS., Kāth. oder ŚB." (Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 332 on ĀpŚS. 13, 9, 12).

¹⁷⁾ Schwab, *Thieropfer*, p. 103 f., quoting (p. 105 n.) BaudhŚS. Pray. *yajamāna ṛtvijaś ca samjñāpyamānaṁ paśum anavekṣamāṇāḥ . . . āsate* (cf. BaudhŚS. 4, 6: 117, 18).

¹⁸⁾ The verb form used is *upārima* (*upa-r-*). In Dutch *te na komen* (lit. "come too near") means "to give offence". In AV. 11, 2, 17 *rudrām . . . mōpārāma jīhvāyā* the last word no doubt belongs to the verb, not to the following participle: "may we not offend Rudra with our tongue" (i.e. *faveamus linguis*).

In particular contexts one should rather speak of an "angry or wrathful eye". AV. 13, 3, whilst extolling the sun, imprecates evil upon the wicked who give offence. The offence (*āgaḥ*) raised is (st. 1) said to be "against this god who, angered, penetrates (all) with his visual faculty" (*anu vicākaśīti*); in st. 6 the divine luminary is described as looking, angered, with his eye between heaven and earth (*yó antará ródasi kruddhás cākṣu-śaīkṣata*).

That these Vedic authors realized that looking attentively or meaningfully is not only a physical but also a psychical process may for instance be inferred from AV. 2, 34, 3: "they (probably the comrades of the victim¹⁹) which is to be killed for sacrificial purposes) which, giving attention to the one (the victim) being bound, looking after (*anvikṣ-* "to follow with the eyes, to keep gazing") (him) with mind (*manasā*) and eye . . .", the commentary adding "out of affection and compassion".

Two stanzas²⁰ occurring in two variants, AV. 5, 6, 9 f.; TB. 2, 4, 2, 1, are remarkable in that they show the co-operation of sight and mind, tapas and brahman: "O missile of sight (*cakṣuṣaḥ*), missile of mind (*manasaḥ*), missile of brahman (here the powerful formula is meant), of austerity (*tapasaḥ*; TB. has "of the word", *vācaḥ*)", the second half running AV. "weapon's weapon art thou; weaponless be they who show malice against us" and in TB. "make him, O Agni, with (thy) weapon weaponless who, malicious, is hostile to me". The text continues, in AV. "Whoever wish sight, with 'mind', with intention (*cittiyā*) and design (*ākutiyā*) shall, malicious, be hostile to us, make etc.", in TB. as above. "Eye", or "sight" must, here again, mean the "evil eye", the baleful influence exerted by an inimical glance.

The close association between eye and mind²¹ is indeed apparent from a frequency of places exhibiting both *cakṣuṣ-* "eye" and *manas-*, a term which though often translated by "mind", "perception", "sense" or "consciousness", is applied to many mental and psychical faculties and may roughly be regarded as the seat of thought, will and feeling²². Thus RV. 3, 37, 2 the priests are requested to cause eye and 'mind' of Indra, the god of the hundredfold resourcefulness²³, to turn towards those speaking. That is, Sāyaṇa explains, they must effect that the god's eye will direct a favourable glance towards us (*tvadīyaṃ darśanam asmāsv*

¹⁹ Cf. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 78.

²⁰ K. F. Geldner, in Festgruss-O. v. Böhtlingk, Stuttgart 1888, p. 32.

²¹ "Die Anschauung, dass die bloße Kraft des Gemütes oder des Geistes unmittelbare Wirkungen im Reiche der Dinge vollziehen könne, ist ein selbstverständlicher Bestandteil sowohl des primitiven Denkens wie des späteren indischen Denkens . . ." (R. N. Dandekar, *Der vedische Mensch*, Heidelberg 1938, p. 53). See also W. Deonna, *Le symbolisme de l'œil*, Paris 1965, p. 28 ff.

²² See e.g. H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, Göttingen 1919; E. Abegg, *Indische Psychologie*, Zürich 1945, p. 8.

²³ Gonda, *Epithets in the Rgveda*, The Hague 1959, p. 40.

anugrahadṛṣṭim kurvantu). In RV. Kh. 3, 15 the so-called "sūkta of cordiality" (*hrdyasūkta-*), which is to cause mutual sympathy and the initial stanza of which is, in several gṛhyasūtras, used at marriage and upanayana (the initiation of a student of the Veda) ceremonies, stanza 5 cd runs as follows: "I seize (your) eye with (mine) eye, (your) mind with (my) mind"; cf. 15 ab. This place shows the intimate relation between the eye and 'psychical central organ' (*manas*) as well as the importance attached to visual contact. Compare also the sequence in *Samhitāraṇyam*, 3, 2; ŚGS. 6, 4, 1 *adabdhāṃ mana īṣiraṃ cakṣuḥ* and MŚS. 2, 1, 2, 36 *adabdhāṃ cakṣur ariṣṭāṃ manaḥ*²⁴, and the interesting piece of evidence which is TĀ. 4, 38: *brāhmaṇā tvā śapāmi. brāhmaṇas tvā śapāthena śapāmi. ghorēṇa*²⁵ *tvā bhṛgūṇāṃ cākṣuṣā prekṣe. raudrēṇa tvāṅgīrāsāṃ mānasā dhyāyāmi. aghāsya tvā dhṛayā vidhyāmi. ādharo māt padyasvāsau* "I curse thee with brahman (the mantra). I curse thee with the curse of brahman. I look at thee with the evil eye of the Bhṛgus. I brood mischief against thee with the fierce mind of the Aṅgīrases. I pierce thee with the edge of (the) *agha-*²⁶. Fall down lower than I (am), N.N." (As is well known, the families of the Bhṛgus and the Aṅgīrases are closely associated). With these words one may after some appropriate preparations subject an enemy²⁷. For the combination "mind and eye" (e.g. *mānasā cākṣuṣā ca*: "to look after with—" etc.) see e.g. also TS. 3, 1, 1, 2; 3, 2, 8, 2; 5, 7, 7, 1²⁸). One of the mantras accompanying oblations in connection with the slaughtering of a victim runs as follows: *ye badhyamānam anu badhyamānā anvaiṣanta mānasā cākṣuṣā ca | agniḥ tām agre pramumoktu . . .* (cf. AV. 2, 34, 3; TS. 3, 1, 4, 2; MS. 1, 2, 15: 25, 5; 3, 9, 7: 125, 16; KS. 30, 8: 190, 2 f. etc.) "Those, who being bound, contemplated with mind and eye him who was being bound, let god Agni first release them . . .".

It is interesting to see that in connection with the desire to start creating the idea of being *prajākāma-*, i.e. "desirous of offspring", is also expressed by the phrase *manas kṛ-* "to make up one's mind"²⁹ (TB. 2, 2, 9, 1; BĀU. 1, 2, 1) as well as the verb *īkṣ-* "to see with the mental eye" (ChU. 6, 2, 3 f. *tad aikṣata bahu syām prajāyeya* "It thought: 'May I be many; may I procreate myself'"³⁰).

It is worth recalling that "eye", "sight" and heart combine even in a

²⁴ J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 167.

²⁵ *ghora* = *ugra* - "potent, violent, mighty, formidable, wrathful" (comm.).

²⁶ *agha* - "evil, sin" is explained by the commentator as a formidable kind of weapon (of the form of a sword), so to say materialized evil.

²⁷ Commentary.

²⁸ I need not repeat here what I have said on the relations between eye and *manaḥ* in *The vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague 1963, passim (cf. also p. 51 ff.).

²⁹ "Il conçut cette pensée" (E. Senart, *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad*, Paris 1934, p. 2).

³⁰ Cf. C. A. Scharbau, *Die Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur*, Stuttgart 1932, p. 73.

curse which forms part of a magical text addressed to the war-drum the sound of which is to put the army of the enemies to flight: AV. 5, 21, 2 "Quaking with mind, with sight, and with heart (*udvêpamāna mānasā cākṣuṣā hṛdayena ca*), let our enemies run fearing with alarm...".

In this connection attention should be drawn also to AiB. 2, 26, 2 *cākṣuṣ ca manas ca maitrāvaruṇaḥ* "eye and mind belong to (are for) Mitra and Varuna". The implication no doubt is that these two faculties are as closely associated as the two gods. The same brāhmaṇa reverts to this couple at 6, 24, 10: "In that he transposes for the second time the six hymns of the Vālakhilyas, he transposes eye and mind"; 6, 28, 4.

The question may arise whether the identification of the 'mind' of the agnihotra with the hotar and of the eye with the brahman priest (TB. 2, 1, 5, 9) is in harmony with the functions attributed to these organs, because elsewhere (see KB. 17, 7; ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 23) the officiants and the organs or faculties are co-ordinated otherwise. However, the brahman who is seated to the south is considered the guardian of the sacrifice (ŚB. 14, 1, 3, 2)³¹, and the eye is on the other hand explicitly described as the "protector" or "defender" (*goptr*:- KauṣBU. 2, 1).

Stanza 2 of AV. 9, 2 which in the witchcraft ceremony Kauṣ. 49, 1 is prescribed to accompany the release of a bull towards an enemy—the stanzas 2 and 3 being also included in a number of verses used to destroy the effect of evil dreams³²—is clearly intended to transmit by the power of mind and eye some form of evil unto an enemy³³: "What is not agreeable to my mind or sight, what consumes me³⁴, does not rejoice me, that evil-dreaming do I fasten on my rival...".

The difference between mere physical sight and understanding with the mind did not however elude the attention of the Vedic poets: AV. 10, 8, 14 "all see him... with the eye, not all know (him) with the 'mind'".

The manas is ChU. 8, 12, 5 explicitly said to be the divine (i.e. supra-normal) eye of him who knows "let me think this", and (consequently) is the ātman: *mano 'sya daivam cākṣuḥ*. "He verily with that divine eye, the mind, sees these objects of desire and rejoices"³⁵.

Nor is the combination of eye and ear unknown: cf. e.g. TS. 7, 1, 1, 1 two stomas bear the midday pressing like eye and ear; 4, 3, 4, 3g. See also ŚB. 10, 5, 3, 7; 11, 5, 9, 2; JUB. 4, 18, 1 "which god yokes sight and hearing". In ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 4 they are even identified: *samānam hi cākṣuṣ ca śrotram ca*.

³¹ I refer to my observations in Purohita, *Studia Indologica* (Festschrift-W. Kirfel), Bonn 1955, p. 107 ff. (esp. p. 118 ff.).

³² See Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 522.

³³ R. Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart 1897, II, p. 61; A. Hillebrandt, in *Z.D.M.G.* 48, p. 418; Th. Aufrecht, in *Kuhn's Zs.* 34, p. 459.

³⁴ For *me=mā* (acc.) see L. Renou, *Grammaire de la langue védique*, Lyon-Paris 1952, p. 229.

³⁵ For the *divyam cākṣuḥ* see Chapter X.

VI

It was obviously considered an established view that a gaze on an object accompanied by a formula containing a definite qualification could effect that the object acquired that quality. "It is not the eye alone that commits the mischief, but also the mind and the tongue"¹). This belief was current not only in the case of the evil eye, "the venom of which is believed to prove still more noxious if accompanied by spoken words of malice"²), but also in the frequent cases of a benign or ritually efficacious look, by which some influence was exerted on a definite person or object. The association of glance and word is however quite common in daily life and, of course, not left unnoticed by the Indian poets: Bhāg. Pur. 7, 8, 3 f. *kopāveśacaladgātraḥ putram hantum mano dadhe || kṣiptvā parusayā vācā prahrādam atadarhanam | āheksamāṇaḥ pāpena tiraścīnena cākṣuṣā ||* "trembling with anger he resolved to kill his son; abusing him with coarse words he addressed him, looking askance at him with an evil-boding eye".

The close relation between directed looks and potent formulas may in a way even lead to their interchangeability. The compound *cākṣurmantra*—which is, in association with *durhārda*- "unfriendly", AV. 2, 7, 5 used in a sense opposed to that of *suhārd*- "friendly" and translated by Whitney-Lanman as "eye-conjurer", might indeed have qualified the man whose mantra's ('formulas') are in his eyes, that is who can achieve with his eyes those baleful effects which usually are brought about by incantations. The commentary speaks of a *sadoṣam akṣi*. Cf. also 19, 45, 1 where the

¹ E. Thurston, *Ethnographic notes in Southern India*, Madras 1906, p. 254.—It may be interesting to quote a passage from a Buddhist authority: "The yogin who is striving to apply himself to the subjugating of some evil person, should make himself into his own chief divinity in appearance like to Akṣobhya, and gazing with the two eyes level and directed towards the forehead, he should meditate, intone the mantras, and make sacrifice, and thereby the overthrowing will come about. (He looks) upwards because there is the bodily form of him who belongs to the family of wrath (Akṣobhya). The yogin who is striving to subdue the threefold world by some means of yoga, should make himself like to Padmarāga, and turning his two eyes together towards the left, by performing meditation and so on, he will subdue the person. This is because the bodily form of Padmarāga is to the left. Likewise the yogin who is striving to conjure forth (some being in) the threefold world should make himself like Sūryodayī, and gazing with his eyes together slightly to the right and upwards, by practising the meditation and so on, he will conjure this being forth. This is because the bodily form of Sūryodayī is to the right. Likewise the yogin who is striving to reduce to rigidity someone in the threefold world, should make himself like Pitarajakī, and gazing with his eyes together over the tip of his nose, by practising the meditation and so on he will reduce the being to rigidity. This is because that great subduer, whose form is yellow in colour, occupies a central position" (Hevajrapīṇḍārthaṭīkā by the Bodhisattva Vajragarbha, 15, 85 a 4-b 3, translated by D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, I, London 1959, p. 84).

² S. Ch. Roy and R. Ch. Roy, *The Khāriās*, Ranchi 1937, p. 404.

term recurs, and this "conjurer" is characterized as "hostile" and a "witchcraft-maker".

These quotations may be helpful in coming to a better understanding of the significance of an oft recurring phrase. In connection with the mantra "With the eye of the sun I gaze on thee" TS. 2, 6, 8, 5 observes: "for the eye of the sun harms (*hinasti*) nothing". "The eye of the sun, the pupil of the eye of Agni", means safety, because the demons cannot injure the path of Agni and Sūrya (TS. 6, 1, 7, 3). The person who pronounces the formula temporarily identifies his own visual faculty³⁾ with that of the sun and considers himself able to achieve within the ritual context objects or purposes which are normally reached or realized by the sun. — Among the rules to be observed during the ceremonious reception of a guest is quite intelligibly also the direction to look at him with the eye of Sūrya (Kauś. 91, 2).

When the rite called *samākhyābhakṣanam* is performed⁴⁾ the udgātar, while looking upon the soma in the cup before drinking it, addresses the draught with the following mantra: "A man-beholding falcon, with the eye of Agni I look upon thee (*avapaśyāmi*)", the commentary adding that the falcon with which the udgātar momentarily identifies himself is strong and keen-sighted (LŚS. 2, 5, 5; DŚS. 5, 1, 5; PB. 1, 5, 3)⁵⁾. The implication no doubt is that the officiant considers himself as able to discover and consume the soma as a falcon his prey. Thereupon the soma which is said to contain vigour, is drunk and invited to enter into the persons speaking, being merciful etc. The organic connection between Agni's brightness and keen or universal vision is well known (cf. e.g. RV. 1, 128, 3).

In explanation of TĀ. 4, 3, 3 where the mantras for placing the mahāvīra (the sacrificial vessel) on sand, for looking at it and for fixing it are enumerated, the commentator observes that the formula *sūryasya tvā cākṣuṣā-nvīkṣe* indeed means that the person addressing the vessel is looking at it with the eye of the sun, that in doing so he will not lose his eye-sight, because a man who looks at the pravargya is liable to go blind; that the words *ṛjāve tvā* which follow mean: "I look at thee with a view to achieve straightness of the earth"; *sādhāve tvā*: "I look at thee with a view to achieve the proper condition of the intermediate space", and *sukṣityat tvā*: "I look at thee with a view that the world of heaven will be a good abode", etc.; that means: "by looking at thee all 'spheres' (*lokāḥ*) of the universe become able to fulfil their respective tasks".

³⁾ This faculty is of course part of his own complete body and personality, but it should be remembered that bodily organs were believed to embrace only part of man's psychical powerfulness. Compare e.g. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, p. 279.

⁴⁾ Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. 218 f.

⁵⁾ Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* translated, p. 7 incorrectly wrote: "a... falcon (art thou)..."

The sun is VS. 7, 42; 13, 46 described as the brilliant "face" or "appearance" (*anīkam*) of the gods, the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni, RV. 6, 51, 1 as the great and dear eye of Varuṇa and Mitra⁶⁾ which is beyond deception (*... cākṣur māhi mītrāyor ... priyāṃ varuṇayor ādabdhām*); see also RV. 1, 115, 1; 7, 63, 1; AV. 13, 2, 35). The adjective *adabdhām* "not to be deceived" is in harmony with the Avestan usage also at AV. 13, 2, 44 used in this connection: here the sun is said to be *ādabdhacakṣuḥ* "of undamaged sight". Compare also TS. 1, 1, 10; MS. 1, 1, 11 etc. (the wife of the sacrificer looks *ādabdhena ... cākṣuṣā* at the sacrificial butter); TB. 3, 2, 5, 10 (MS. 4, 1, 7)⁷⁾.

According to an ancient Iranian view expressed in the Avesta (Yt. 19, 94) Zarathustra's third son Astvaṣereta⁸⁾ will see with the eyes of wisdom and direct a look towards all wretches; he will, moreover, direct the eyes of good fortune to the whole of creation and watching over it he will make the whole material world of living beings imperishable⁹⁾.

In the Avesta Mithra is said to look round with his eyes with a beautiful far-shining glance (Yt. 10, 107 *srīra dadāiti daēmāna / dūrāt.sūka dōiḍrābya*) and it is difficult to disconnect this statement from the thoughts and considerations ascribed to the god in the following sections: "Who is he that worships me, who is he that is false to me? ... On whom may I bestow riches and fortune, on whom health of body, on whom property that affords much comfort? For whom shall I raise noble progeny hereafter? On whom shall I bestow against his expectation an excellent powerful kingdom, beautifully strong thanks to a numerous army?" Besides, the Avesta ascribes all-seeing omniscience to this god whose sight is directed principally to the actions of men¹⁰⁾. Being undeceivable, Mithra watches even in darkness. He is valiant and the most intelligent among the gods; with his thousand ears and ten thousand eyes he is the strong, all-knowing, undeceivable master of ten thousand spies (Yt. 10, 141). "Thanks to these eyes and perceptions Mithra cannot be deceived, he who has ten thousand spies ... " (Yt. 10, 82). This trait of the god's character can hardly be disconnected from his willingness to help and assist man: "To whose assistance comes Mithra with fore-knowing thought,

⁶⁾ For the eye of these gods and the epithet *urucakṣas* "far-seeing" now compare also R. Schmitt, *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in urindogermanischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1967, S. 157 f.; E. Benveniste, in *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris 1968, p. 77.

⁷⁾ For the eye of the sun see also RV. 1, 164, 14; 7, 79, 1 etc.; VaitS. 3, 8 etc. and compare The vision of the Vedic poets, p. 192 f.

⁸⁾ See e.g. H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, Tübingen 1930, p. 175; 205; 215 ff.; 228 f.

⁹⁾ Has the difficult line AV. 10, 10, 24 (The Savayajñas, p. 346) also anything to do with the idea that the eye radiates a definite aspect of a being's energy: *tārāṃsi yajñā abhavan tārasāṃ cākṣur abhavad vaśā* "the sacrifices became powers-to-overcome-and-acquire; the cow became the 'eye' of these powers"?

¹⁰⁾ R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god*, London 1956, p. 134 ff.

the strong, all-knowing undeceivable master of ten thousand spies . . ." (Yt. 10, 46). It is worth quoting also another passage (Yt. 10, 33 f.) from which it appears that this god could be friendly and benevolent so as to make his worshippers cheerful and joyful: "Give us the following boon(s) for which we ask thee, O strong one . . . : riches, strength, and victoriousness, comfortable existence and ownership of Truth, good reputation and peace of soul, learning, increment, and knowledge . . . , so that we, being in good spirit, cheerful, joyful, and optimistic, may overcome all opponents . . . , all enemies, . . . all hostilities of evil gods and men . . .".

I am not the first to draw attention to Vedic parallels¹¹⁾. Analogical characteristics are indeed attributed to the Indian Mitra: compare e.g. R.V. 3, 59, 4 *tasya vayāṁ sumataṁ yajñīyasyāpi bhadre saumanasē syāma*¹²⁾ "may we have a share in the benevolence (kindness) of this (god), who is worthy of worship, in (his) auspicious favourable disposition". See also R.V. 3, 59, 3; 5; 6; 1, 156, 1, emphasizing the god's friendliness.

Gazing at an object with the eye of Mitra is therefore quite intelligible as a ritual technique to appease that object, that is to annihilate the evil influences adhering to it: KB. 6, 14: 27 informs us that in connection with the *prāśītram*, a small piece cut off from an Agni cake, the rule obtains that the brahman priest shall gaze on it saying: "With the eye of Mitra I gaze on thee", with the result that he 'appeases' (*śamayati*) it with the eye of Mitra¹³⁾. Mitra is the god of friendship, contract, agreement and good understanding¹⁴⁾, and his eyes which never close (R.V. 3, 59, 1) are said to behold men, his power of universal vision being regarded as omniscience¹⁵⁾. Besides, the sun (Sūrya) is repeatedly said to be the eye of Varuṇa-and-Mitra (R.V. 6, 51, 1; 7, 61, 1; 7, 63, 1; 10, 37, 1)¹⁶⁾; hence also TB. 3, 2, 4, 5 *mitrasya tvā cakṣuṣā prekṣa ity āha mitrāya*. When, in the Full and New moon sacrifices the *prāśītram*, a very small piece of the sacrificial cake, is cut off for the brahman priest¹⁷⁾, all sorts of measures ought to be taken lest any evil should occur, because the cake has already been placed on the vedi (sacrificial bank) and so has already come into contact with divine power. According to the story narrated KB. 6, 13 f.¹⁸⁾ the god Bhaga had lost his eyes because he had looked at the brahman's portion, i.e. the *prāśītram*; thereupon the gods kept it

¹¹⁾ See P. Thieme, Mitra and Aryaman, Trans. Connecticut Acad. of arts and sciences, 41 (New Haven 1957), p. 506. For the 'spies' of Varuṇa and Mitra see also H. Lüders, Varuṇa, I, Göttingen 1951, p. 35; H. Lommel, in Oriens, 6, p. 323 ff.

¹²⁾ This line occurs also at R.V. 3, 1, 21, in a hymn addressed to Agni.

¹³⁾ Cf. D. J. Hoens, Śānti, Thesis Utrecht 1951, p. 13.

¹⁴⁾ Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 82.

¹⁵⁾ See Pettazzoni, o.c., p. 119 f.

¹⁶⁾ Cf. also AiB. 2, 26, 2; KB. 13, 5.

¹⁷⁾ For particulars see Hillebrandt, Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 119 ff.

¹⁸⁾ See above, p. 27.

for Indra who appeased¹⁹⁾ it with brahman. See also ŚB. 1, 7, 4, 1 ff. Because Indra had in this way appeased the *prāśītram*, the brahman priest says, according to the information contained in KB. 6, 14 and meant to explain this rite, "Indra the brahman" (*indro brahmā*) and gazes on it saying: "With the eye of Mitra I gaze on thee" (*mitrasya tvā cakṣuṣā pratikṣe*) adding: "verily thus with the eye of Mitra he appeases it", i.e. "he neutralizes its power which may be dangerous". Cf. also KŚS. 2, 2, 15; LŚS. 4, 11, 10; ŚŚS. 4, 7, 4. Now, the kindly and peaceful nature of the god Mitra, who, being "the friend of all" (TS. 6, 4, 8, 1), represents pact and peace, is often referred to in the Veda²⁰⁾. He sees everything like the sun²¹⁾ which is expressly stated to be his great eye (R.V. 6, 51, 1). Bringing people together he watches the races of men with unwinking eye (R.V. 3, 59, 1). Also in his frequent association with Varuṇa this god never closes an eye (R.V. 7, 60, 7). Both gods are "omniscient" (*viśvavedas-*) and this quality essentially is the power of universal vision²²⁾. Thus the meaning of the formula pronounced by the brahman is clear. While speaking this formula he represents the god, whose very name means "Friendship" and works by his look, which through the formula pronounced at the right moment is temporarily transmitted into the gaze of the god, a change in the dangerous sacrificial material, "appeasing" it by the kindness and peacefulness proper to Mitra's eye.

In preparing the cakes for the Full and New moon sacrifices the adhvaryu must pronounce inter alia the formula TS. 1, 1, 4ik "I gaze (*prekṣe*) on thee with the eye of Mitra; be not afraid, be not troubled, let me not harm thee" while looking at the rice destined for these cakes (ĀpŚS. 1, 17, 9). The purport of these instructions is perfectly clear: the rice should be prevented from nursing any feelings of fear or perturbation; 'Mitra's eye' is to establish a friendly relation. Cf. also MŚS. 1, 2, 1, 31²³⁾.

The formula returns among the mantras prescribed for the ritual reception of a guest. When the madhuparka (a respectfully offered mixture of honey) is brought to him the guest should look at it while pronouncing the words "I look at thee with the eye of Mitra" (ĀśvGS. 1, 24, 14; PGS. 1, 3, 16). The significance of this act is perfectly clear. It may be added that, after having accepted it in his joined hands, he again looks

¹⁹⁾ See Hoens, Śānti, esp. p. 12.

²⁰⁾ Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 82; H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951-1959, p. 37.

²¹⁾ For the sun as Mitra's eye see TB. 2, 8, 7, 3.

²²⁾ Compare also in connection with the Avestan Mithra, Yt. 10, 82 "(Mithra) on whom Ahura Mazdāh has conferred a thousand perceptions, (and) ten thousand eyes for seeing all-round; thanks to these eyes and perceptions he spots the infringer of the contract and the man false to the contract . . ." (I. Gershevitch, The Avestan hymn to Mithra, Cambridge 1959, p. 113), these infringers being those people who sin against Mithra and all this god stands for.

²³⁾ For parallel passages see Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, p. 3. Cf. e.g. ĀpŚS. 1, 17, 9; 3, 19, 5; MŚS. 5, 2, 15, 15.

at it reciting the stanzas RV. 1, 90, 6–8 “The winds blow honey to the man who abides by truth-and-order” (ĀśvGS. 1, 24, 15).

The injunction (addressed to the officiants) to look upon the person speaking (the sacrificer) with the eye of Mitra (VS. 5, 34 *mitrásya mā cakṣuṣekṣadhvam*) may, in accordance with the commentaries, be taken to mean “with a friendly, passionless, calm, benign, auspicious eye”: *mitrasyādityasya cakṣuṣā mām ikṣadhvam, mitrasya hi śāntam cakṣuḥ* (Uvaṭa); ... *sakhyur netreṇa vā sakḥā yathā sakḥāyaṃ hitacakṣuṣā paśyati tathā mām paśyadhvam ity arthaḥ* (Mahīdhara). When the priests are invited to look at the sacrificer with the eye of Mitra, this means that they should transmit the benignity, friendliness and benevolence inherent in the ‘Mitra conception’ to the person speaking because the eye of that god is “free from evil, kind and auspicious” (*śāntam*). Compare e.g. VS. 36, 9 *sām no mitrāḥ ... bhavatu*.

In an explanation of the purposes and effects of some mantras—e.g. “the formula ‘be firm, do not stumble’ is pronounced with a view to achieve firmness and support”—TB. 3, 2, 4, 5 states that the mantra under consideration is used to bring about *mitratva*—“friendship (with the implication of more or less ‘contractual’ agreed or settled association or companionship)”. In connection with “the eye of Mitra” it should however be borne in mind that Mitra is not only a “Friend”, but also that this god is RV. 3, 59, 2 f. described as protecting man against need, illness etc. Among the formulas to be recited, within the framework of the pravargya ceremony, for a long life, health, strength, unimpaired faculties, security, prosperity, and contentment is also VS. 36, 18 “Caldron, strengthen me. All beings must regard me with the eye of Mitra. I regard all beings with the eye of Mitra.” The commentators Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara observe that Mitra’s eye is *śāntam* “faustus”.—One of the other formulas to be pronounced on the occasion of this rite is to accompany the so-called appeasement: MŚS. 4, 3, 41 ff.: “With (the words) ‘With Mitra’s eye we look upon you, with Mitra’s eye look ye upon each other’ they look upon each other” (4, 3, 42 *samīkṣadhvam*). The purpose and the ritual function of these words are similar.—Cf. also VS. 5, 34; MŚS. 1, 2, 1, 29.

The ox extolled in AV. 9, 7 is not only said to be Indra when standing eastward, Yama when standing southward etc. (st. 20) but also Mitra when looking (st. 23): another indicium of an intimate relation between this god and eyesight, or rather, a particular way of gazing.

An interesting illustration of the beneficent potency of the look of a powerful being occurs also in the description of the piling of the great fire place. The tortoise—a representative of the vital juice of the world (ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 1)—which is immured alive²⁴ is addressed as follows (VS. 13, 30): “Overlook these beings with unbroken wings”, that is according

²⁴) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 192.

to the commentaries: “make by your looking these creatures (i.e. the bricks of the structure; cf. also ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 8) undestroyed”, i.e. “prevent them from becoming broken and destroyed”. The good bodily condition of the animal is by means of its look to be transferred to the ‘creatures’ upon whom he fixes his eyes.

A definite way of looking may in performing a rite be a replica of a mythical event. In searching for Agni (Agnicaya ceremonies) one must look at the lump of clay which is to be used for the making of the fire-pan through the hollow part of an ant-hill, which is identified with the earth, which in its turn is these worlds, because the gods searched for Agni in these worlds part by part (ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 5). This is however not to contend that this peculiar way of looking is in itself devoid of meaning. A hole, opening or hollow part of something is to promote health, well-being and to counteract (or rather “strip off”) evil (see e.g. Kauś. 15, 4; 35, 6; 50, 18; 72, 16)²⁵.

Although the scope of this publication does not permit me to deal at some length with post-Vedic religious ceremonies it is worth recalling that in the ritual of the South Indian Śivaite the officiant transforms ordinary water into holy water by his mere look: he produces the amṛta from the *bindusthāna*—i.e. the ‘mystic’ place charged with power, between the eyebrows²⁶.

Another brief reference to a post-Vedic ritual usage may not be out of place here. In a description of the Śivaite fire cult (*agnikāryavidhi*—) given by Somaśambhu²⁷ (Paddhati 4, 2 f.) it reads: “After having obtained the Lord’s consent one has to proceed to Agni’s abode (the fire-place), go round it (in the ritual way) together with all the utensils from left to right, cast at all the implements for the performance a divine look (*divyadrṣṭi*—), sit down facing the North etc.” “C’est un regard lancé par l’œil invisible (*aparacakṣus*—), dit l’éditeur de notre texte”²⁸. Although Somaśambhu and another authority, Aghoraśiva, seem to distinguish this ritual act from the *nirikṣaṇa*—, the difference does not appear to be evident. The *nirikṣaṇa*— is, in the same ritual, an oft recurring act consisting in casting a ‘divine’ glance at one of the utensils. This gesture is made by touching one’s eyes by the tips of the thumb and the ring-finger of the right hand while pronouncing the basic mantra (*mūlamantra*—) of the religious community²⁹). The look, which then is ‘divine’, is supposed

²⁵) See e.g. Caland, Zauberritual, p. 31, n. 5; K. Weinhold, Zur Geschichte des heidnischen Ritus, Abh. Akad. Wiss. Berlin 1896, p. 37. “Wenn man durch die Rockärmel, ... durch ein Wagenrad, ein Astloch u.ä. sieht, kann man die Unholde erkennen” (Handwörterbuch d. deutschen Aberglaubens, VII, 952; IX, 639).

²⁶) I refer to my publication on Śivaism and Viṣṇuism (see ch. II, n. 7).

²⁷) Somaśambhupaddhati, I, edited and translated by H. Brunner-Lachaux, Pondicherry 1963, p. 230 f.

²⁸) Brunner-Lachaux, o.c., p. 230, n. 6.

²⁹) Cf. Brunner-Lachaux, o.c., p. 96, n. 1.

to effect a purification³⁰), to remove the evil influences which may thwart the officiant's intentions or the obstacles impeding the progress of the rite. See e.g. o.c. 3, 2 *om hām haum śivāya namaḥ | divyadr̥ṣṭinīpātena divyān uparivartināḥ ... vighnān kṣiptvā ...* Accompanied by mantras which have the force of "weapons", a double sprinkling and a tapping³¹) the nirikṣaṇa rite is for instance performed in order to purify the vessels which are to contain Śiva's bathing-water (ibid. 3, 5 *nirikṣaṇādibhiḥ śastraiḥ śuddhān ādāya guḍḍukān | labdhānujñāḥ śivān maunī gaṅgādikam anuvrajet*). The act is sometimes indicated by the compound *vikṣaṇa-*: ibid. 4, 30 *gavyam ājyam samādāya vikṣaṇādiviśodhitam* "having taken clarified butter made of cow-milk purified by the '(divine) look' etc."; cf. 4, 62 *caḥṣusā nyastamūlena vikṣya* "one should place the basic mantra on one's eyes and perform the rite of the '(divine) look'".

In connection with this ceremony Devasigamani Paṭṭar, the head of the Cōmanātan temple, Manamathurai³²) observed that the nirikṣaṇa is "a ritual in daily ablutions by which purification is effected by the imagined flow of nectar from one's left eye", adding that this eye-power makes its influence also felt in the following aspersion: "by uttering the *prokṣaṇa-mantra-* ("the formula consecrating the aspersion") the very same object is made wet by the sight of the left eye"³³).

A passing reference may also be made to a passage in the Kālikā-Purāṇa describing ritual procedures in connection with mantras used by the worshippers of Kālī: 59, 18 "Then again pronouncing the mantra *hām phaṭ* and looking (*nirikṣya*) aside, upwards, downwards and to himself (that is, directing his eyes towards all directions) with an angry look (*krodhadṛṣṭyā*), he (the performer of the rite) should be at ease"; 22 "With the *nārācamudrā* and a steady gaze, uttering the mantra *hrām hrīm phaṭ* he should look at the flowers, eatables, perfumes etc. (which are to be offered to the god)"; 28 "Uttering the *Nārasimhamantra* the sacrificer should touch with the part of his hand which is sacred to the gods the water which is in the vessel, looking at it (with the divine look) after sprinkling it"; 59, 80; 109; 143; 150; 182.

VII

Belief in the beneficial results of visual contact may indeed lead to a variety of ritual practices. A somewhat complicated instance is furnished by ĀpŚS. 13, 14, 1 ff. The soma-caru (oblation of boiled rice etc.) is

³⁰) See e.g. ibid. 4, 9 (; 9, 4; 9, 9) and compare C. G. Diehl, *Instrument and purpose*, Lund 1956, p. 74, n. 2; Brunner-Lachaux, o.c., p. 136, n. 1; p. 206, n. 0.

³¹) Ibid. 4, 3 *nirikṣaṇam ca kuṇḍasya prokṣaṇam tāḍaṇam kuśaiḥ | vidadhyād astramantreṇa varmaṇābhyukṣaṇam matam*; cf. also Brunner-Lachaux, o.c., p. 100, n. 7.

³²) Quoted by Diehl, l.c.

³³) For some occasions requiring the nirikṣaṇa see Diehl, o.c., p. 77; 103; 107.

brought to the udgātars (chanters; cf. TS. 6, 6, 7, 1) who look at it: "for the soma(-caru) is a purifier; verily they purify themselves (by doing so)" (TS. ibid. 2). The simultaneous use of the formula (MS. 4, 7, 2: 95, 4) "This (belongs) to you completely, what is your own here (i.e. in this world)" shows however that this act had also another purpose. From ĀpŚS. 13, 14, 3 it appears that those who cannot see their own image in the liquid butter on the surface of the oblation—and what this means is stated elsewhere: "the vital spirits of him who cannot see himself have gone" (TS. ibid. 2)¹)—should add butter and then look at it again. "Having made the butter full all-round, one should look at (it), for in it one sees oneself; then also one purifies oneself" (TS.). The man whose mind has gone should while looking at it pronounce the formula: "That mind of mine which has gone away, or which has not gone away, that we keep within us by means of King Soma" (TS., Āp. ibid. 4). Here visual contact with the oblation to the accompaniment of the proper formula is to prevent the onlooker's vital power from leaving him. The gaze and the invocation of divine assistance are to bring about the effect desired.

At a certain moment the Vedic chanters must, one after another, "look down" upon the mess of boiled rice destined for Soma²)—that is they must see the reflection of their own faces in it—while muttering the formula "A long (complete) life (has been put) in my breath (vital powers), breath (vital powers) in my mind, into the ṛc verse which bestows a long (complete) life. My mind which has gone to Yama or has not fled away, that we put again in ourselves through King Soma" (LŚS. 2, 10, 7 f.; DŚS. 6, 2, 6 f.; PB. 1, 5, 17). The gaze is, here again, to bring about contact, to direct the ritual act towards a definite goal. In a discussion of the Vaiśvadeva śastra the author of AiB. 3, 32 furnishes us with the following information: "Having taken (the pap) for Soma before the sāman singers the hotar should look into it", that means, the commentary explains: "he should look at his own reflected image in it" (*svayam pūrvabhāvi san svakīyāṁ dehachāyāṁ avekṣeta*). "He begins to see with unclouded eyes who knowing thus turns his eyes to the pap for Soma" (ŚB. 1, 7, 2).

The relation between looking, purification and the effect of the looking is made clear in TS. 3, 2, 3, 3 f. In this chapter which deals with the gazing at the soma and the different cups³) it reads: "He who desires to prosper (who desires pre-eminence in holiness and sacred knowledge; who is ill)

¹) The man who cannot see the reflection of his own face in a vessel filled with liquid butter (see also MS. 4, 7, 2; ĀśvŚS. 5, 19, 5 etc.) or his shadow in hot water or in the light of the moon (Suśruta, 1, 30) is *gatāsuḥ*, i.e. "expired" or he will die if he is ill or will fall ill if he is healthy (Suśruta). See Caland, Z.D.M.G. 53, p. 218 f.; Zauberritual, p. 32, n. 7; W. B. Bollée, *Ṣaḍvīmśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Thesis Utrecht 1956, p. 42.

²) I refer to Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 365.

³) See Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 183 f.

should look (on the offerings); Prajāpati is associated with (or, in) the vessels (*pātriyah* ⁴⁾); Prajāpati is the sacrifice; verily he delights him, and he (P.) being delighted purifies ⁵⁾ him with prosperity (pre-eminence in holiness and sacred knowledge; with life)". The same direction is however also valid in the case of a man who practises 'witchcraft' with the result that the god cuts off (his) enemy from expiration and inspiration, speech, eyes etc., so that he comes to ruin. The formulas relating to this ceremony (VS. 7, 14; 27-29; TS. 3, 2, 3; ŚB. 4, 5, 6, 2 ff.), the so-called *avakāśa*-("a glance cast at something") mantras ⁶⁾ express similar thoughts: "Giver of splendour (pre-eminence), grow thou pure for splendour (pre-eminence) for my expiration" ⁷⁾. The ŚB. 4, 5, 6, 5 adds: "He must not let every one eye (*avakāśayet*) them, but only him who is well known, or one who is his friend, or one who, being learned in sacred lore, may acquire these (texts) through study". The sūtras however inform us that the sacrificer must also successively touch the cups while pronouncing these formulas (BaudhŚS. 14, 8; KŚS. 9, 7, 9 f.). See also ĀpŚS. 12, 18, 16 "When they (the adhvaryu, the brahman and the sacrificer ⁸⁾) are about to enter, they look at the cups" and compare MŚS. 2, 3, 7, 1.

Among the mantras accompanying the partaking of the soma (TS. 3, 2, 5, 1; MŚS. 2, 4, 1, 34 etc.) is *nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā avakhyeṣam*; notice the compound *sucakṣas*-.

Among the directions given in connection with the piling of the great fire place (the so-called fire altar) is also the following: (ĀpŚS. 17, 23, 5, based on KS. 22, 8: 64, 21; cf. KapS. 35, 2; TS. 5, 7, 1c) when the moment for giving the dakṣiṇās has come the sacrificer should offer the brahman a golden vessel filled with honey, saying "That I be(come) qualified to drink honey (soma)" (TS.; "he becomes qualified to d. h." KS., Kap.). The vessel should weigh a hundred mānas, thereby he "places in himself" (i.e. he secures) a full lifetime and manly vigour, because a man is characterized by a life of a hundred years and by hundredfold manly vigour ⁹⁾. The sacrificer should moreover gaze on the vessel with the formula TS. 2, 4, 14p (RV. 1, 115, 1) *citrām devānām úd agād ānikam* "the radiant countenance of the gods has arisen (the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni; he has filled the sky, the earth, and the atmosphere; Sūrya is the soul (ātman) of that which moves and stands)" (*citravatyaṅvekṣate*, Kap.). KS.

⁴⁾ See also Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, p. 241.

⁵⁾ For *abhi pavate* ("verklären" Petr. Dict.) see AV. 12, 1, 12, imploring the earth to "be purifying toward us", i.e. "to exert a purifying influence for our benefit" (*abhi naḥ pavasva mātā bhūmih*).

⁶⁾ See above, p. 22.

⁷⁾ For a complete translation of the passage see R. T. H. Griffith, The texts of the White Yajurveda, Benares 1927, p. 65 f.

⁸⁾ See however also Caland, on ĀpŚS. 12, 18, 16 (Das Śrautasūtra des Āpas-tamba, II, p. 281).

⁹⁾ For "a hundred" as signifying an ideal human or mundane condition see my note in Loka, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 88, n. 70.

and KapS. add in explanation: "it becomes bright at noon (*citrām eva bhavati madhyamdine*)". There can be no doubt that the sacrificer now places himself in communication with the brightness of the sun. "There-upon he causes the horse to sniff it (the vessel). Indra, one should know, is yonder sun (Āditya, cf. ŚB. 8, 5, 3, 2), Prajāpati is this one; the horse is connected with Prajāpati. He actually causes him to prosper". According to TS. 5, 2, 8, 1 the sniffing horse bestows 'breath' (*prāṇa*- "vital power") on the object sniffed. Elsewhere (ŚB. 7, 3, 2, 12, cf. the commentary) the "sniff-kiss" of the horse is explained as a transfer of beneficent power comparable to or identical with the kisses with which the sun puts himself in contact with the creatures (cf. also ŚB. 8, 7, 3, 10).

This custom still survives. According to the sister of the late prime minister Nehru ¹⁰⁾ her mother, on the occasion of the Kashmiri New Year, would, at daybreak, come to her husband, Motilal Nehru, and her children, to each of them in turn, carrying a big silver tray on which she had put raw rice, wheat, sweetened yogurt, a mirror, a lump of silver, some gold sovereigns, and tika (the red powder to make the 'lucky sign' on the forehead). "She went first to Father and put the tika on his forehead. Then he would look at the wheat and rice, for prosperity, and taste the yogurt to sweeten the New Year; he kissed the silver and gold, hoping to have them through the coming year, and looked at himself in the mirror before looking at anybody else—if his face was not happy that was bad. We all did the same when our turn came."

It is hardly imaginable that the father-in-law (of the bride) and her brother-in-law who in the mantra AV. 14, 1, 39d are said to look on (at her: *pratiks*-) when the bride is made to go three times round the fire (Kauś. 76, 20) are mere spectators. These words may have a 'deeper sense', and if so, one might at first sight be tempted to ascribe a consecratory or 'sacramental' function to these obviously obligatory glances. If this supposition be right, both persons may at first sight be supposed to be, as 'best men', present at the wedding ceremonies in the parental home of the bride (see Nārāyaṇa on ŚGS. 1, 6, 3). The intimate connection of these words with the contents of AV. 14, 1, 39 a-c is in favour of this supposition, because the bathing (ab) takes place in the house of the bride and no ceremony of walking round the fire is prescribed in her new home ¹¹⁾. That is why I am rather sceptical about the correctness of Thieme's interpretation ¹²⁾; though right in combating the conclusions

¹⁰⁾ K. Nehru Hutheesing, We Nehrus, New York 1967, p. 28.

¹¹⁾ See e.g. A. Hillebrandt, Ritualiteratur, Strassburg 1897, p. 63 ff.; P. V. Kane, History of Dharma-śāstra, Poona 1941, p. 531 ff. For the confusion of the sequence of the various ceremonies and the real or seeming contradictions in the text compare also V. M. Apte, Social and religious life in the Gṛhya Sūtras, Bombay (1939) 1954, p. 30 ff.

¹²⁾ P. Thieme, Mitra and Aryaman, p. 14. See also the same, Der Fremdling im Rgveda, A.K.M. 23, 2, Leipzig 1938, p. 126.

drawn by Dumézil¹³), he has not convinced me in considering st. 39 to have been spoken at the moment when the bride enters her new home, where her newly acquired father-in-law and brother-in-law are already waiting for her (*pratīkṣante*). The second half of the stanza belonging to the ceremonies performed in her parental home is — as already observed — used by Kauśika 76, 20 to accompany the leading of the bride about the fire; it is true that groom and bride are to walk together, but this fact is in this line not denied. The possibility must of course be conceded that pāda d originally had nothing to do with c, but then the absence of a grammatical object is noteworthy. Aryaman mentioned in c being the divine family friend and *Bräutwerber*¹⁴), his fire may be that of the marriage ceremony in the house of the bride's father, from which Pūṣan who is invoked also and who is the god of the paths¹⁵) is to conduct the bride to her new home after this part of the ceremonies. The conclusion may therefore be that in pādas cd Pūṣan is invoked to conduct the bride because her father-in-law and brother-in-law are (in their own house already) looking forward to her — which no doubt is a pleasant and auspicious fact —, but only after the necessary circumambulation of the fire has taken place in her own parental home.

A more complicated case is the prescription found in some gr̥hyasūtras (MGS. 1, 12, 1 etc.¹⁶) in various contexts but always in connection with the wedding ceremonies. When bridegroom and bride meet for the first time (HirGS. 1, 19, 4), before the parting of the hair, during the journey (ĀśvGS. 1, 8, 7) or at another moment (PārGS. 1, 8, 9; JaimGS. 1, 21), the former (or the guru) addresses the onlookers (*prekṣakān*, *ikṣitān* or *vikṣitān*)¹⁷) with the stanza "This woman is very auspicious (brings good fortune: *sumāṅgalīḥ*, the usual translation is "wears auspicious ornaments" which is possible and may also be correct); come up to her and behold her; having brought luck to her, go away back to your houses". For the stanza see RV. 10, 85, 33; AV. 14, 2, 28, the latter version having the ending *daṁbābhāgyair vipāretana* "go asunder and away with ill-fortune". According to Kauś. 77, 10 these words are to be addressed to women who come to look at the bride on her journey. The belief underlying them obviously is that one may safely look at the bride because she is *sumāṅgalī*, i.e. somebody (something) auspicious — a *maṅgala* — is anything or event which is auspicious such as an amulet, a good omen, a prayer or benediction, a festival or solemn ceremony —; as such she does not only bring luck to those who look at her but is also immune from the evil eye. Those present are on the other hand invited to give her a benign look — which

¹³) G. Dumézil, *Le troisième souverain*, Paris 1949, p. 78.

¹⁴) *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 83.

¹⁵) See also S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the R̥gveda*, Princeton 1941, p. 16 ff.

¹⁶) Dresden, o.c., p. 61 f.

¹⁷) For an incorrect interpretation see Caland, *Kāthakagr̥hyasūtra* (edition), Lahore 1925, p. 114, n. 10.

is a form of congratulation — and to take along with them any ill-luck which might impend over the bride. The belief is that a benign look averts evil and that the friendly disposed onlooker takes it away.

Before a prayer for blessing the famous hymn to the earth, AV. 12, 1, has a stanza which according to a comm. on Kauś. 24, 14 — where the stanza is prescribed to a person returning home after a journey — contains auspicious words. The former part of the stanza (58) runs as follows: "What I speak, rich in honey I speak it; what I look (at), for that they like me; ¹⁸) brilliant I am, possessed of swiftness . . .". Since both parts of the line may be considered parallel utterances, the looks of the person meant probably are described as being sweet and lovely and hence in a special way powerful and influential. That seems to signify his good intentions and harmlessness: a man who has lived in foreign parts is likely to have contracted the germs of contagious misfortune, which he might spread by the evil eye.

The initial stanza of AV. 7, 60 " . . . with mild (*aghoreṇa*) friendly eye, I come to the house, well-willing, greeting; be quiet, be not afraid of me" used whilst addressing one's home is according to Kauś. 24, 11 to be muttered in front of the house by one who has been absent for some time; according to 42, 8 to accompany a ritual act for the harmony of all the inmates of a dwelling; and to 89, 11 after a rite relating to the Fathers on re-entering the house¹⁹). It is quite clear that the person who pronounces these words intends to "set the mind of the house and the inmates at ease", to convince it of his friendship and the absence of any sinister designs. The praise of the dwelling, the repeated statement that it causes pleasure, is rich in sustenance etc. are psychologically quite intelligible: the man who wants an angry dog or a displeased person to keep calm also addresses him as "good" or "dear".

When the cows which are to be milked for the *sāmnāyya* milk²⁰) come near (leaving the pasture in the forest²¹)) the sacrificer should "look forward" (*pratīkṣ-*) to them²²) with the words TB. 3, 7, 4, 14 f.: "Here they come, yielding sweet milk, with many calves, excellent, of various colours. Indra must, O cows, cause you to stay here pleasantly, numerous and increasing". See ĀpŚS. 1, 11, 10b. The function of the no doubt kind and welcoming gaze cannot be dissociated from the purport of these words and the use of the verbal compound in this connection may be

¹⁸) Similarly W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 63, n. 8. Kauś. 38, 29 this stanza belongs to a series of formulas used to win at a game. — AVPpp. 17, 6, 5 . . . *tad vadantu mām* " . . . for that they must speak to me".

¹⁹) For other uses see Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 428.

²⁰) L. Renou, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique*, p. 163.

²¹) See the comm. on TB. 3, 7, 4, 14, p. 465, l. 1.

²²) "blickt er denselben entgegen" (Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, p. 27).

made an argument in favour of the above interpretation of AV. 14, 1, 39d.

Mentioning a number of rites to be performed with a view to expiation of portents and protection against misfortune Hiranyakeśin (GS. 1, 18, 2) also prescribes looking at the cows when late in the afternoon they are coming back (*gā āyatih pratikṣate*) while pronouncing the formulas: "These cows which have come here, free from disease and prolific, must swim (full of wealth) like rivers; they must pour out (milk), as (rivers discharge their floods) into the ocean". Other formulas are to accompany a repeated look when these animals are standing still ("You are immovable; do not move from me") and when they have entered the stable ("I see you full of strengthening food; see me full of strengthening food") (ibid. 3 f.). These looks are again to enter into direct communication with the cows, to transmit the blessing given to them and also to facilitate its reciprocation.

This reciprocity — which is a well-known feature of ancient Indian man's relations to the divine powers, see e.g. AV. 12, 1, 13 "let that earth, increasing, make us increase"²³) — is also obvious in a case such as ĀpŚS. 16, 16, 4: The words "Bringing invigorating food, intent on winning goods, prudent I enter (my) dwelling, rejoicing and brilliant; while looking at the dwelling with a friendly, not with an evil eye I will pass over to youthful vigour. We intend to increase the duration of the dwelling's life; the dwelling must increase the duration of our life; I enter into the kindly disposed dwelling, not killing the men, (into the dwelling) which has heroic men (sons), is well-possessed of heroic men (sons)" are to be pronounced by the man (probably the yajamāna) who approaches his house, whatever is meant here by this term²⁴). Compare also ĀpGS. (2.) 6, 6 enjoining the young husband to show on their arrival his house to his wife.

That the look might play a rôle in a feast appears from AVŚ. 9, 6, a text exalting the entertainment of guests. Says st. 3 "when the host (*atithipati* : hospes) meets his guests with his eyes (*pratipaśyati*), he looks at (*prekṣate*) an act of worship of the gods (*devayajanam*)", to be continued in 4 "when he greets them, he enters upon consecration; when he offers water, he brings forward the sacrificial water": the entertainment of the guest is a rite which obviously acquires its specific character as such as soon as the host casts a glance upon his guest. The look cast under the proper circumstances and at the right moment is so to say a consecratory act. However, the variant in AVPpp. 11, 111, 3 *preṣyate* "he calls upon (the guest) to commence (the ceremony, viz.) the worship of the gods" is perfectly intelligible and in harmony with a well-known ritual phraseology.

On this belief in a favourable or even consecratory effect of a look

²³) For reciprocity see also above, p. 18 f.

²⁴) The problem of the interpretation of this passage need not detain us here; see Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, III, p. 34.

directed at some object is for instance also based the ritual instruction to cast a glance on (to gaze at) the sacrificial butter. In performing the rites of New and Full moon the adhvaryu and (or) the sacrificer must look at the butter²⁵) in order to 'consecrate' it. In TB. 3, 3, 5, 1 f. the question is raised as to how the ghee — which, being 'life-sap', is used for consecratory purposes²⁶) — is consecrated ("sprinkled") itself. The answer is, the text continues: "with truth; now, the eye is truth; one 'sprinkles' it with truth (when one looks at it)". As however looking at this holy stuff is dangerous — "one is liable to lose one's eyesight" — one should "look at it after having closed and re-opened one's eyes; so one preserves one's eyesight"²⁷). Cf. KŚS. 2, 7, 9 f.; BaudhŚS. 1, 2, 20 f.; ĀpŚS. 2, 6, 6 etc. In the accompanying formulas (TS. 1, 6, 1b; Āp. 1. c.) — which are pronounced while looking at, but without breathing on, it (Āp.) — the butter is said to be, or rather now to become, sacrificial butter, truth (*satyam*), an overseer (*adhyakṣa*-²⁸)) of truth, an oblation of purified vital energy, of true creative (inaugurative) power, overwhelming power . . ., the formula continuing: "I besprinkle (*abhi ghārayāmi*, the verb used when the butter is the object of the process of sprinkling) thee . . .". See e.g. also the much later Viṣṇuite Atri Samhitā, 30, 48 f.

A variant of the same consecratory power of the look occurs in a description of an *āyushkāmasyeṣṭi*-, i.e. an optional ceremony performed for somebody who desires to live a full life-time. BaudhŚS. 13, 31 f.²⁹): After the adhvaryu has placed the oblations (on the gārhapatya hearth) he heats the fresh butter which in this rite (*iṣṭi*-) replaces the melted butter (*ājya*-), makes the sacrificer look at it, bends his own eye upon it and mutters the formula: "What was fresh became fresh (butter); what flowed became liquid (butter); what was sprinkled, ghee (i.e. melted butter in a solid condition used for ritual purposes)"³⁰).

Whereas TĀ. 10, 38, 39 (= MahāNārU. 353) speaks of men who are so holy that they purify a group of fellow-men up to a thousand (*ā sahasrāt pañkṭim punanti*) BaudhDŚ. 3, 5, 7 makes mention of a person who *ā cakṣuṣaḥ pañkṭim punāti*, i.e. "purifies such a group from (his) eye", which must mean "by merely looking at them".

The beneficial effect of the sympathetic look of a spectator (*prekṣaka*-) was also well known to the Indian dramaturgic experts. It is not only the higher powers, but also the human public which determine the success (*siddhi*-) of a drama, which is the very aim of its performance³¹). Kindly disposed human spectators (*sumanasah prekṣakāḥ*) who are present at a

²⁵) Hillebrandt, Das altind. Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, p. 61.

²⁶) The Savayajñas, p. 150.

²⁷) See above, p. 24.

²⁸) For *adhyakṣa*- see Chapter IX.

²⁹) See W. Caland, Altindische Zauberei, Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 112 f.

³⁰) The Savayajñas, p. 199 f.

³¹) Bharata, Nāṭyaś. ch. 27, 48 ff.

theatrical performance may promote its success by means of their words, their minds or (the movements, gestures etc. of) their bodies ³²). Moreover, persons considered to be fit to a particular rôle may act as assessors; for instance, a ritual expert may be an assessor when sacrificial acts are to be represented, a courtesan in matters relating to love etc. These assessors should neither be too near the stage nor too far from it ³³).

Part of the ceremonies to be observed in connection with the important cult of Kṛṣṇa's image relate to the adoration of his conch-shell ³⁴). After God has by means of a mantra and a mudrā been requested to leave the heart the officiant regards the water in the conch-shell, which thereupon is covered by two hands; these acts are accompanied by an "eye-mantra" (*netramantra-*) and an armour or protective mantra (*kavaca-*). Thereupon the water is by another mantra transformed into amṛta. The look and the eye-mantra are no doubt to convey the divine essence from the officiant's body to the water ³⁵).

It may in this connection briefly be recalled that among the different methods of initiation (*dīkṣā*) distinguished by the adherents of the Śaiva-Siddhānta—who are led to this distinction because in their opinion God does not manifest himself to all souls in the same way ³⁶)—is *nayana-dīkṣā* "instruction and initiation by the eye": the guru while looking at the disciple destroys the last remnants of the fundamental evil conditioning the soul's delusion that it is limited and in doing so enlightens him. As shown elsewhere ³⁷) this method of initiation, though largely affected by non-Vedic practices, is in a way a specialization developed from ancient ritual acts, part of which had also entered into the composition of the upanayana ritual. There the guru looks at the boy with a mantra and causes him to pronounce another formula (GGS. 2, 10, 20 *prekṣamāṇo japaty āgantra sam āganmahīti*).

With the Viraśaivas the guru-initiator has to look very intently into the eyes of the child which is to be received into the community. In doing so he resorts to yoga in the course of which he places his hand on the head of his pupil. Through this act he is believed to extract the spiritual principle from the child's body and to place it in the liṅga which has already been consecrated by him. Thereupon the initiate is supplied with this liṅga

³²) For particulars see my treatise *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas*, Acta Or. Leiden 19, p. 435 ff.

³³) Bharata, *Nāṭyaś.* ch. 27, 61 ff.

³⁴) See R. V. Joshi, *Le rituel de la dévotion kṛṣṇaite*, Pondicherry 1959, p. 92 f.

³⁵) The Hinduist purificatory rites by means of the divine eye (*nirīkṣana-*) will not be considered here. See e.g. H. Brunner-Lachaux, *Somaśambhupaddhati*, Pondicherry 1963, Index, s.v.

³⁶) H. W. Schomerus, *Der Śaiva-Siddhānta*, Leipzig 1912, p. 315 ff.

³⁷) Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, p. 431 ff. See also H. M. Sadasivaiah, *A comparative study of two Viraśaiva monasteries*, Mysore 1967, p. 106: "Then the Guru looks very intently into the eyes of the pupil and resorts to yoga, in the course of which he places his hand on the head of the pupil".

and seven other emblems of this religion. This important rite is considered to be a spiritual birth on which no rebirth will follow ³⁸).

In an interesting passage of the Viṣṇuite (Pāñcarātra) Lakṣmī-tantra (22, 27 ff.) dealing with the function and power of mantras it reads: "Then, by means of a preceptor (*guru-*) who with sympathy casts in a perfect way a glance full of pity on him (*guruṇā sadayaṃ samyag vīkṣitaṃ karaṇādrṣā*), they (the mantras) save him by producing a sense of detachment (*vairāgyam*) in him". The gaze of the guru is here regarded as being instrumental in the transmission of the beneficent power of the sacred formulas. Similarly, 24, 42 (of the 'holy man'); 27, 38.

VIII

It will be well to enumerate or examine more closely some other ritual texts prescribing a conscious and directed look by which the spectator was, or seems to have been, believed to benefit, or ritual acts performed to derive some advantage from looking on a mighty being or event, to participate in its nature or essence, to be purified or raised to a higher level of existence by being vis-à-vis with such a man or deity or by witnessing such an event.

During the laud the udgātar c.s. should sit so as to place their left feet undermost while looking at (*īkṣ-*) the union of the sky and the earth, holding their faces straight (DSS. 3, 3, 29).—At a certain moment during the performance of a soma rite the chanters should silently look at the cātvāla trench and a water jar, and then at the sun, either with the mantra "Thou art the sāmān, shine upon me", or silently (DSS. 3, 4, 19 ff.)¹). The udgātar should mutter the formula PB. 1, 3, 9 "With splendour, with milk, with heat have we united ourselves, with propitious thought, with insight, and with truth of mind, in order that I may speak to you what is most welcome . . ." while looking at his assistants and the spectators (*īkṣakān*), who by their mere looking bring themselves into contact with the sacral acts, and while looking at the sun the mantra PB. 1, 4, 1 "O lord of the journeys (courses), may well-being fall to my share on this path which leads to the gods" (LSS. 1, 12, 15; DSS. 3, 4, 29 f.). Here again a functionary looks at those whom he addresses, irrespective of whether they are gods or human beings.

The attraction of protective power is no doubt meant LSS. 2, 2, 26; DSS. 4, 2, 17: while worshipping the dhiṣṇyas (i.e. the subordinate hearths) the chanters should look at them one after another with the words PB. 1, 4, 15 "protect me, O Fires, by means of your terrible front (edge), obeisance to you, do not hurt me!". Compare also DSS. 4, 4, 3 prescribing

³⁸) Change and continuity, p. 434; S. C. Nandimath, *A handbook of Viraśaivism*, Dharwar 1942, p. 71 f.

¹) The chanters have on the other hand to partake of the cups sacred to Narāśaṃsa without looking at them with the formula PB. 1, 5, 3; see DSS. 5, 1, 17.

that the dhiṣṇyas in the patnīśālā should be worshipped while being looked at and DSS. 4, 4, 17 and the comm. Dhanvin.

With regard to the belief that the sight of a powerful being or influential object makes the seer share in the specific beneficial potency of that object or attract something of it, HGS. 1, 22, 14 may be quoted: "She (Arundhatī, the little and scarcely visible star Alcor) ... must shine (*bhrājatu*) upon us": the man who cannot see that star is about to die (Rām. 3, 1017* cr. ed.).

In dealing with the presentation of the dakṣiṇās DSS. 5, 4, 8 states that if the sacrificer should give a horse chariot, a wheel of which is damaged, the receiver should remove it and make the sacrificer look at the axle-hole. It cannot be the author's intention to have the sacrificer's attention drawn to the defect because the latter is explicitly said to have made mention of it. The solution lies in the accompanying mantra, to be pronounced by the receiver: "may these fires ... bring you across", in answer to which the sacrificer should repeat "may these fires ... bring me across". From PB. 1, 7, 6 (cf. LSS. 2, 8, 10; DSS. 5, 4, 7²) it may be inferred that the chariot is a means of ascending the celestial regions: the udgātar to whom the chariot has been given, mounts it while pronouncing the words "Vaiśvānara as of old ascended the vault of heaven ...; producing as of old wealth for the creatures he accomplishes his course watchfully". It may be recalled, first that the wheel of the Sun's chariot is often said to have been stolen or made defective (RV. 1, 130, 9; 174, 5; 175, 4; 4, 28, 2; 30, 4) and in the second place that the fruits of a dakṣiṇā fall to the sacrificer.

The ritual handbooks interestingly enough provide those people who, without being engaged on a ceremony as priest or sacrificer, come to see "that glory" (*yāśas-*) (SB. 2, 2, 3, 1) with rules of conduct. Compare e.g. PB. 15, 7, 3 f.; ĀpSS. 11, 13, 10 f. 3); 21, 9, 3 ff.: they should abstain from blaming and revealing (failures which have been made) because this is an impediment to the food offered to the gods, they must move in a definite manner etc. What interests us most is the term *yāśas* ("glory, manifestation of dignity"⁴) applied to the ceremonies which are being conducted and which obviously are worth seeing because the spectators derive benefit from what they see.

The compilers of the purāṇas have not failed to draw their readers' attention to the purificatory and sanctifying power of darśana. The

²) Now see A. Parpola, The Śrautasūtras of Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyana and their commentaries, Comm. hum. litt. Soc. Sc. Fennica 42, 2, Helsinki 1968, p. 29 ff.

³) See also Caland's note, Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa translated, p. 411 f.

⁴) The translation is of course tentative; in Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 31 I proposed "Würde"; Mme J. Manessy, Les substantifs en -as- dans la R̥k-Saṃhitā, Dakar 1961, p. 224 f., observing: "Il serait tentant de considérer *yāśas*- comme une notion visuelle opposée à *śrāvas*-, notion auditive" arrives at the conclusion that as far as the R̥gveda is concerned *yāśas* denotes "un aspect personnel de la gloire".

sight of a god (image), or of a holy or eminent man is salutary and may lead to participation in the high qualities of the exalted personage⁵). Thus it reads in the story of Prahlāda as related in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (1, 20, 16) *prasādam kuru keśava. / avalokanadānena bhūyo māṃ pāvayācyuta* (: *pratyakṣaṃ darśanaṃ tasya dānena*, comm.) "Be gracious to me, Keśava. Sanctify me, O Acyuta, again by the gift of thy sight!". With regard to the version of the same legend contained in the Padma-Purāṇa (6, a. 265) Hacker⁶) observed: "Bezeichnend für die Religion unseres Textes ist ferner die magische Wirkung, die der Berührung und dem Anblick des Gottes zugeschrieben wird. Obwohl Hiraṇyakaśipu bis zum Schluss der zornige Tyran bleibt ..., wird er durch die Berührung und das Anschauen des Gottes 'geheiligt' und stirbt als einer, 'der sein Ziel erreicht hat'. Man wird annehmen dürfen, dass man solche Wirkung auch von dem Anschauen des Idols, das ja als mit der Gottheit identisch gilt, und von der Berührung mit ihm erwartete": st. 118 ff. as soon as Viṣṇu Narasiṃha took hold of the malicious king and knocked him down, as soon as the latter saw Hari's face, his sinfulness disappeared.

Somadeva, Kss. 54, 38 makes one of his figures praise Viṣṇu as follows: "The gods have obtained various stages of prosperity by being looked upon by thee with a favourable eye (*tvatprasannekṣaṇekṣitāḥ*); so be propitious, and look upon me, thy suppliant, with an eye melting with love". And the god, indeed, answered the prayer and "looked upon him with a favourable eye", willing to show his benevolence. In the blessing, occurring in the same work, Somadeva, Kss., 104, 2 *gaurīprasādhanālag-nacaranālaktakṣriyaḥ / sakhi sukhāya bhūyād vaḥ sambhor bhālekṣaṇa-prabhā* "the blaze of the eye in the forehead of Śiva who is smeared with the beautiful red dye used by Gaurī for adorning her feet" is invoked "to befriend you (those addressed) for your happiness". An attempt is made to render the well-known terrible power of this eye ineffectual and to appease the god's anger, which perhaps might be feared.

The image of Viṣṇu-Viṭṭhala is held in such a veneration by the Vārkaris⁷) that for them to have a darśana of it is the highest joy possible. "When my eyes rest on your image, My Beloved, I become overwhelmed with happiness", says Jñānadeva, and Tukarām, "This image is my happiness: I look at the beautiful face with love". Pilgrims walk hundreds of miles to be able to see the image even for a little while⁸). — It is hardly necessary to recall that also objects belonging to a holy person, for instance his horse⁹) or shoes¹⁰) as well as temples¹¹) and so on, may

⁵) See Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 326 f.; II, p. 289.

⁶) P. Hacker, Prahlāda, II, Acad. Mainz 1959, 13, p. 170 f. (910 f.).

⁷) For this Viṣṇuite denomination see Die Religionen Indiens, II, p. 182; 185 f. For "l'œil de l'image, regardant le spectateur" see also Deonna, Symbolisme, p. 42 ff.

⁸) G. A. Deleury, The cult of Viṭhobā, Poona 1960, p. 64; cf. p. 69, 72 etc.

⁹) See e.g. Deleury, o.c., p. 83.

¹⁰) Ibidem, p. 8.

¹¹) Ibidem, p. 55.

be objects of darśana and that phrases such as "May Hari's face protect you"¹²) must be viewed in the light of this religious practice. As is well known temple visitors are not always participant in the worship except paying homage to their God's visible presence. Their object is to have darśana-, "sight of the deity". With this aim in view they go on pilgrimage. The question may therefore arise whether the adjective *ikṣenya-* applied RV. 9, 77, 3 to the soma simply means "worth seeing"¹³), i.e. "pleasant to the eye". Does not the onlooker profit by his visual contact? And is not until the present day the sight of many inauspicious objects, persons —e.g. old barren women—or animals¹⁴), for instance first thing in the morning or in a dream, a foreboding and prelude to disaster and hence to be avoided if possible? A few passages may be quoted in substantiation: Parāśara-Smṛti 12, 47: one who has built the Vedic fire place, a dark-brown cow, one who is engaged in a sacrifice of the class called *sattra-*, the king, an ascetic, the ocean, these purify the man the moment they are seen, so one should see them always, and Gobhila-Smṛti 2, 163; 165: if on getting up one sees a brahman learned in the Veda, a woman whose husband is still alive, a cow, a ritual fire-place on which fire is kindled, one becomes free from adversities; if however one sees a very sinful man, a widow, an untouchable, one naked, one whose nose is cut off, that is an indication of discord or misfortune. Another smṛti text, the Vṛddha-harita, dissuades its readers 2, 49, from seeing those disreputable outcasts who cook dogs (*śvapāka-*) or from conversing with them and, 2, 66, from looking at the body of a person who is not externally characterized as a Viṣṇuite, because it is as inauspicious as a burial-place. If one who has in accordance with the ritual precepts of the Veda been consecrated (*dīkṣitaḥ*) sees (*paśyati*) anything (ritually) impure, the consecration departs from him (TS. 3, 1, 1, 2).

We may in this connection do well to remind ourselves of the obligation to place a screen between the image of Viṣṇu and the outside of the temple laid by Viṣṇuite authorities on the devotees lest unworthy persons see the worship while it is being performed (Kāśyapa-Saṃhitā, a. 73)¹⁵): "At the time of worship rogues, pratilomas (persons whose mother was of a higher social rank than their father), spoilers of the Veda, and heretics (should be) invisible. Therefore the worshipping priest should make a protective screen before silently performing the daily worship . . . in such a manner as is worthy of the image." Darśana is, or was, not allowed to

¹²) See e.g. D. H. H. Ingalls, An anthology of Sanskrit court poetry, Cambridge Mass. 1965, p. 143.

¹³) Cf. Sāyaṇa, Geldner, o.c., III, p. 72. Renou, Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes, IX, Paris 1961, p. 3: "dignes-de-considération".

¹⁴) See e.g. Varāhamihira, Brhatsaṃhitā, passim, translated by H. Kern, J.R.A.S. 1870–1875, reprinted in H. Kern, Verspreide Geschriften, I and II, The Hague 1913; Von Negelein, Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva, passim.

¹⁵) This Vaikhāṇasa text has been translated by T. Goudriaan, Kāśyapa's Book of Wisdom, Thesis Utrecht 1965, p. 216.

everybody, and in some temples it is free only at fixed times¹⁶). When a god comes in procession through the streets he however grants his sight to every spectator. Anyhow, the sight of a god can be chosen or deliberately sought and thereby used as an instrument in securing luck, assistance and prosperity.

The importance of the question and the light it throws on the view of the world of ancient Indian man render it worth while to consider some places dealing with the eye, the look or the visible presence of a god or a divine or divinized being more closely.

The light of heaven being man's salvation, contact with the sun and its light is beneficial. In ancient India this idea is VS. 4, 32 expressed as follows: "ascend the eye of Sūrya . . .", i.e. be placed on the antelope skin so as to be seen by the sun and to be protected against evil influences¹⁷).

A kind and beneficent look was no doubt also attributed to the goddess Dawn who in RV. 1, 92, 9 is said to cast, while shining, a gracious glance upon all creatures: *viśvāni devī bhūvanābhicāksyā pratīcī cākṣur urviyā vi bhāti*. Renou, translating "En dominant du regard toutes les créations, la déesse brille au loin, faisant face à (tout) regard" is no doubt right in opining that *regard* is to be taken in a wide sense¹⁸). From TB. 3, 1, 3, 2 (cf. RV. 7, 81, 1) *vyucchantī duhitā divaḥ apo mahi vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamo jyotiṣ kṛṇoti sūnari* it appears that the daughter of heaven, that is the same goddess, while shining in different directions could be represented as uncovering by her eye, which here is identical with her luminosity, the darkness and as producing the light of heaven.

The poet of RV. 1, 148, 5 assumed, in connection with Agni, the manifestation of a certain reciprocity or interplay of factors. The god is explicitly stated to be immune from the attacks of the rogues and malignants; "being blind, and unable to see they are not able to hurt him by their glances" (*andhā apaśyā nā dabhann abhikhyā*)¹⁹). The implication must be that the god, though unborn, anticipates his enemies' baleful and destructive looks.

At RV. 2, 42, 1 there seems to be a certain opposition between the evil eye and being a good omen: the bird which is to augur good fortune cannot be struck by the evil eye (if this is the tenor of the line cd: *suman-gālaś ca śakune bhāvāsi mā tvā kā cid abhibhā viśvyā vidat*; Grassmann's translation of *abhibhā*—"entgegenstrahlender Schein" may be approximately correct).

Theoretically one might expect the 'benign eye' of an exalted being to be the counterpart of the "evil eye"²⁰), that is, generally speaking, the

¹⁶) See also C. G. Diehl, Instrument and purpose, Lund 1956, p. 154.

¹⁷) There is no need to dwell here on the common conception of the sun as an eye. See e.g. TS. 5, 7, 25, 1; 7, 5, 25, 1 and compare Lommel, in Oriens, 6, p. 332.

¹⁸) Renou, E.V.P., II, p. 31; 39.

¹⁹) See Geldner, o.c., I, p. 207.

²⁰) Cf. also the compound *duścakṣas-* "evil-eyed", KS. 4, 2: 30, 16, etc.

eye which 'overlooks' a person or animal and works in him a blighting influence, the look or glance of covetous, jealous, rancorous or deficient persons believed to be able to affect persons, animals and objects which provoke their envy, hatred or antipathy²¹). It is indeed the good or benign²²) look which often conveys the kind mood or the friendly disposition of our fellow-men²³). Just as definite persons cause, by the glance of their eye, injurious effects, even without their consent or against their will, so others were, and are, supposed to radiate some influence for good. Thus the mere look²⁴) of a king or other mighty being may be a mark of esteem, a token of favour: "O king Echnaton, let me see your eyes every day!" As in moments of psychical emotion we look at the faces of our companions to make them share in our joy or sorrow, the gods and other exalted beings are expected to convey the ideas they foster about human beings through the same medium, viz. the eye and the facial expression in general. Of the Kansa Indians it is recorded that if a man is successful, people say that Wakanda (the Highest Being) has looked at him with a good eye, and in ancient Elam a king declared that he had been enthroned by the favourable look of his God²⁵). When a devout Hindu resorts to one of his great gods, he is addressing a surpeme personal deity, with whom he can expect to enter into contact. This contact may, also on the part of the god, be regarded as being, at least in part, brought about by the eye, as the poet of the Saundaryalahari 4, 22 has it: "Do you, O lady, extend to me, your slave, a compassionate glance!"

²¹) For India see chapter I, n. 8 and e.g. W. Koppers, Die Bhil in Zentralindien, p. 28 ff., etc. (p. 289 f. "Es ist, wie sie (die Bhil) sagen, nicht so sehr der böse Blick, sondern das böse, miszünstige Herz, dessen Auswirkungen man zuvorkommen oder entgegenwirken will"); R. E. Enthoven, The folklore of Bombay, Oxford 1924, p. 222 ff.; Ch. Mukherjea, The Santals, Calcutta 2n. d., p. 289 ff.; G. W. Briggs, The Chamars, Oxford 1920, p. 161; the same, The Doms and their near relations, Mysore 1953, p. 392 ff.; L. S. S. O'Malley, Popular Hinduism, Cambridge 1935, p. 138; 161; W. H. R. Rivers, The Todas, London 1906, p. 263 ff.; S. Ch. Roy and R. Ch. Roy, The Khārīās, Ranchi 1937, II, p. 404 ff.; E. Thurston, Ethnographic notes in S. India, Madras 1906, Index, s.v., p. 576; L. N. Chapekar, Thakurs of the Sahyadri, Oxford 1960, p. 95.

²²) For the expression *śivaṃ cakṣuḥ* see also AV. 1, 33, 4; 16, 1, 12; TB. 2, 8, 9, 3 etc. *śivēna mā cakṣuṣā paśyata (āpaḥ)*.

²³) The sun also may for instance look black: AV. 13, 3, 6 *yó antará ródasī kruddhás cakṣuṣātkṣata* "who, angered, looked with his eye between heaven and earth."

²⁴) It would be interesting exactly to know how definite 'meanings' of compounds have developed. One might for instance suppose the use of *apekṣ-* in the sense of "caring for etc." to owe its existence to the fact that in daily life heed, cure, consideration, respect etc. and the conscious use of our eyes go often together (compare Engl. *to look after*, Dutch *omzien naar* etc. etc.). In a long enumeration of the terrible aspects of the cow of a brahman it reads AVPpp. 16, 142, 6 *mahādevo nāpekṣamāñā* "she is (becomes) the great god (=the much feared Rudra) "when she is not looked after", which is at the same time "... respected, cared for, waited for".

²⁵) J. O. Dorsey, A study of Siouan cults, in XI Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, Washington 1894, p. 374; Deonna, o.c., p. 148.

In Christian countries God, Jesus, the Holy Ghost and Maria were in incantations often believed to be in possession of the benign or gracious eye. "Hat dich der Teufel angesehen / mit seinen bösen Augen / so seh dich Kind Mutter Maria / mit ihren guten Augen an." "Teufels Augen haben dich gesehen / Gottes Augen sehen dich wieder." A German child's prayer: "Vater, lass die Augen Dein über meinem Bette sein". To the man who has been 'overlooked' by a pair of evil eyes: "three good eyes will see you again, that of God the Father, that of God the Son, and that of God the Holy Ghost"²⁶). Vedic personifications of evil are RV. 7, 104, 2 in a similar way stamped as *ghoracakṣas-* "of frightful look". A Moslim prayer is: "Allah may save me with his vigilant eye"²⁷). According to an Avestan tradition a rogue was destroyed through the eyes of the Holy Ārmati, the bounteous immortal Rightmindedness (Yt. 1, 29). Just as there is sufficient evidence of the special value attached to certain words or formulas to intensify the disastrous effect of the evil eye²⁸), so it was widely believed that other words may on the other hand counteract the fascination or bring good to those who use them. The first words of the Gospel of St. John have, for instance, always been held of great virtue when carried on the person and many scriptural or other inscriptions upon old houses are "much less in reality the expressions of piety than protective charms against the origin of every misfortune — the evil eye"²⁹). The eye power of a mighty and righteous person may in a similar way be regarded as counteracting evil, danger and injustice: Holy Bible, Prov. 20, 8 "A monarch seated on the throne of justice scatters all crime with his eyes". The bull which is the subject of AV. 9, 4 is said to be able to push away a demon with his horns and "to slay bad fortune with his eye" (st. 17)³⁰).

It is not devoid of interest to notice that RV. 10, 112, 10 Indra, addressed as "benevolent", and "a possessor of wealth", is requested to look at those who implore his protection and to remember his friends (*abhikhyā no maghavan nādhāmānān śakhe bodhī vasupate śakhinām*). That means that he is expected to bestow his benefits upon those speaking while directing a benign look towards them. — Among the formulas to be recited by, and for the benefit of, a ruler who is anointed and consecrated is AiB. 8, 6, 10 (cf. AV. 1, 33, 4 etc.) *śivena mā cakṣuṣā paśyatāpaḥ* "Regard me with a propitious eye, O Waters". These words, to be spoken when

²⁶) Seligmann, Der böse Blick, I, p. 247; 351; 353; 359. Compare also, in The Bible, Jer. 24, 6; Ps. 90, 17.

²⁷) Seligmann, ibidem, I, p. 248.

²⁸) Seligmann, Der böse Blick, II, p. 437: "Sieht man jemanden mit bösen Augen an, und gebraucht dabei noch ... Droh- und Schimpfworte, so wird die Suggestion durch den Blick noch kompliziert durch die Suggestion durch die Worte".

²⁹) Elworthy, o.c., p. 400.

³⁰) Seligmann, Zauberkraft des Auges, is silent on the 'good eye' of the bull. In the isle of Nias (Indonesia) people believe or believed that the glance of a buffalo may kill a child (J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan, Die Insel Nias, I, The Hague 1913, p. 79).

the king is about to be anointed are called an appeasement of the waters (*apām śāntim*), the author adding the motivation: "Let not the waters, unappeased, strike off (remove) the manly energy of him who is being anointed". In RV. 10, 164, 2, which forms part of a text which is to bring about remission of 'sin' or 'guilt' contracted by bad thoughts etc., it reads *bhadraṃ vaivasvaté cākṣuḥ*, i.e. "Yama sieht auf den Sprecher mit gutem, wohlwollendem Blicke, hat also nicht die Absicht, ihn zur Rechenschaft zu ziehen" ³¹). The phrase *bhadraṃ cākṣuḥ* obviously is the opposite of *ghoraṃ cākṣuḥ*.

In a formula to be pronounced during the Vṛṣotsarga ceremony ³²) homage is paid to the greatness (or majesty) and the eye of the father of the Maruts, i.e. Rudra ³³), who is at the same time implored to be propitious (TS. 3, 3, 9, 1; cf. MS. 2, 5, 10 *namo mahimne cākṣuḥ marutām pitāḥ*; KS. 13, 9: 191, 14). This may mean that the eye radiates the god's majesty, or (and) that both aspects of his personality are most dreaded.

In the Śatarudriya litany accompanying a long series of oblations offered to the hundred forms and powers of Rudra it reads *yā te rudra śivā tanūr āghorā 'pāpakāśinī | tāyā nas tanūvā śāntamayā girīśantābhī cākāśīhi* "With that kindly (gracious) manifestation of thine, mild, O Rudra, auspicious to behold, with that most salutary body, O haunter of the mountains, do thou look on us" (VS. 16, 2; TS. 4, 5, 1, 1c etc.). Here Śiva's look, which is feared, is represented, not as issuing from his eyes, but as belonging to his whole body or manifestation, obviously because it was taken for granted that a definite aspect of the god's power radiated a 'look' which corresponded to the body's terrible or gracious nature. Or to express myself otherwise: the look was, either literally or metaphorically, supposed to be the main medium of contact by which Śiva's manifestations could exert their influence and effect man's good luck or misfortune.

The beneficial and at the same time protective virtue proper to the god of fire—"the most delightful (god) for the glow of his beams" (VS. 33, 13)—is very clearly expressed in RV. 7, 13, 3 (=TS. 1, 5, 11, 2) "In that, when born (i.e. as soon as thou wert born) O Agni, Thou didst survey the worlds (of living creatures), like an energetic herdsman who goes around his flock, do thou, O Vaiśvānara, find a way for the power which manifests itself in our sacred words ³⁴). Do ye (other gods) protect us always with your blessings!" (*jātó yád agne bhūvanā vy ākhyāḥ paśūn ná gopā uryāḥ párijmā | vaiśvānara brāhmaṇe vinda gātūm yūyām pāta svastībhiḥ sādā naḥ*).

³¹) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 391 (*yame viṣaye bhadraṃ śobhanam eva cākṣuḥ darśanam ahaṃ prārthaye*, Sāyana).

³²) A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 85.

³³) Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 74; 78.

³⁴) "feierliche Rede" (Geldner, o.c., II, p. 191); "énergie-formulaire" (Renou, E.V.P., XIII, p. 61) are other attempts at translating the term *brāhmaṇ*.

This association with the god of fire and light ³⁵) may to a certain extent help to explain the defensive nature of the eye and the glance. Agni is AV. 8, 3, 9 implored to defend the sacrifice by (his) sharp eye (*tikṣṇénāgne cākṣuḥ rakṣa yajñām*). This invocation is especially intended to ward off the demons: "(let them not injure) thee that art harmful, greatly gleaming against the demons . . . (*rākṣāṃsy abhī śósucānam*)". St. 10 continues: "with a lordly and watchful eye ³⁶) do thou look around (*pāri paśya*) for the demoniac evil (*rākṣaḥ*) among the people . . .".

The author of AiB. 1, 22, 3 (*gandharva itthā padam asya rakṣatīti kharam avekṣate*) combines the recitation of RV. 9, 83, 4 "Thus (there) (the) Gandharva guards his place" and looking at the khara (a quadrangular mound of earth for receiving the sacrificial vessels, *in casu* the place where the Pravargya ceremony is performed). Cf. ŚSS. 5, 10, 25; ĀpŚS. 15, 11, 2; ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 30. The above ritual act is no doubt to cause the divine protection to turn in the direction of the place intended for sacrificial material.

The horse which is led to the place where it is intended to dig the clay to be used in the ceremonies relating to the construction of the fire place is addressed: "Discerning (*vikhyāya*) with thine eye do thou tread upon (overcome) the enemies" (TS. 4, 1, 2, 3). The recitation of this mantra may be accompanied by the thought of an enemy being defeated in this way (ĀpŚS. 16, 2, 10 prescribing TB. 2, 4, 2, 9 in which the animal being compared to Indra Vṛtrahan is requested to crush the enemies under foot and to conquer them ³⁷).

The tortoise which in the rite of the erection of the great fire-place is buried in the building is invited to look in a benevolent way to the creatures (*aghorāḥ prajā abhivipaśya*: ĀpŚS. 16, 25, 2c). This injunction may be elucidated by the parallel passages: VS. 13, 30 the animal is addressed: *acchinnaṣṭrāḥ prajā anuvikṣasva* "overlook the creatures with uncurtailed (unclipped, unbroken) wings", that is according to Mahīdhara's explanation *akhaṇḍitāḥ . . . kuru* "cause them to be unimpaired", i.e. "prevent them from being impaired". In a similar way KS. 39, 3: 121, 16 has *akhidrāḥ* ("strong") *prajā abhivipaśya*.

In a reference to the well-known mythical event of Śrī-Lakṣmī's appearance from the ocean the Lakṣmī Tantra ³⁸), a Viṣṇuite work produced in a milieu of Pāñcarātrins, adds an interesting detail (1, 33): the goddess on that occasion looked at the company of the gods who (consequently)

³⁵) For Agni's 'eye' see also RV. 4, 2, 19; 6, 7, 6 etc.

³⁶) For the epithet *ṛcākṣas*- see Epithets in the Rgveda, The Hague 1959, p. 110; 155.

³⁷) For the eye as an instrument to find or discover something: AV. 4, 20, 1 ff.

³⁸) This work has been edited by Pt. V. Krishnamacharya, Adyar Library Series, vol. 87, Adyar Madras 1959 and is under my guidance being translated by Dr. Sanjuktā Gupta. The stanza runs as follows: *tayāvalokite devavarge śrīyam upeyusi | tayānavakṣite daityavarge caiva parājite*.

became successful-and-prosperous, she did not regard the group of the asuras who (consequently) were defeated. By means of her look the goddess (Śrī), so to say, transfers her own essence (śrī-) to the gods, by withholding her look she deprives the asuras of success and victory.

Elsewhere the same goddess is in one of her manifestations expected to appear to, and glance with a hundred eyes at those sages who will remember her (LakṣmīT. 9, 34). As long as an embodied soul is not seen by Lakṣmī moved by pity he remains limited in knowledge: ibidem 13, 33 *yāvan nirikṣyate nāyaṃ mayā* (the goddess is speaking) *kārunyavattayā / tāvat saṃkucitajñānaḥ karaṇair viśvam iksate*. That this looking of Śrī-Lakṣmī is the favour which she by her own free will (13, 11) bestows upon the devout, that it has the character of an act of grace may appear from 13, 8 f. "The embodied souls which are beheld by me, Śrī, are free from sorrow. That is called my grace (*anugraha-*), another name of which is a descent of creative power (*śaktipāta-*). Those whom I look at enjoy pacification of their karman (*karmasāmya-*), i.e. the extinction of the effects of karman". Compare, in the Holy Bible, Psalm 33, 18 f. "No, the Eternal's eye rests on his worshippers, who rest their hopes upon his kindness, that he may rescue them from death, and during famine-days keep them alive"; 34, 15 "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous and his ears are open unto their prayers" and other places.

Mention of Śrī's directed looks is also made in other Viṣṇuīte texts. In a eulogy addressed to the goddess Indra is ViṣṇuP. 1, 9, 122 f. made to say that a man obtains a wife, children, a dwelling, a friend, harvests and wealth as a consequence of her look. Health, strength, happiness and so on are easy of attainment to those at whom she directs her gaze (*tvadṛṣṭidṛṣṭānām*); the base and worthless upon whom she looks favourably become immediately endowed with all excellent qualifications, families and power (st. 128).

There is no need to dwell on those places in post-Vedic literature in which the goddess is said to regard her worshippers: cf. e.g. Rājasekhara, Kāvya-mīmāṃsā 8, 25 . . . *devi . . . māṃ paśya tāvat sthitam*.

It would on the other hand be interesting to study a collection of places such as R.V. 4, 6, 6 *bhadrā te agne svanika saṃdṛk* "erfreulich ist dein Anblick, du schöngesichtiger Agni"; "de bon augure est ta vue, ô Agni au beau visage" ³⁹⁾. The adjective *bhadra-* is sometimes translatable by "good, best, excellent, praiseworthy, dear", sometimes by "propitious, auspicious, blessed", both 'meanings' fusing in such a manner that the word can hardly be rendered in a modern western language. The substantive *saṃdṛś-* may express the nuance "the sight of a person who is present and one's vis-à-vis" ⁴⁰⁾. Similarly, R.V. 4, 1, 6; 10, 69, 1 *bhadrā agnēr vadhryaśvāsya saṃdṛśaḥ* "Glückbringend ist der Anblick von

³⁹⁾ Geldner, o.c., I, p. 427; Renou, E.V.P., XIII, p. 11.

⁴⁰⁾ R.V. 1, 66, 1 of the sun.

Vadhryaśva's Feuer" ⁴¹⁾. At 6, 16, 8 the poet states that all men who entertain desires delight in Agni's *saṃdṛk* ⁴²⁾. I ask myself whether R.V. 2, 1, 12 *tāva spārhé vārṇa ā saṃdṛśi śrīyaḥ* ("in deiner köstlichen Farbe ist alle Schönheit beisammen zu sehen"; "en ta désirable couleur, en (ta) vision-d'ensemble (résident) les beautés") ⁴³⁾ should not mean "in thy (Agni is addressed here also) desirable (excellent) outward appearance (lustre), in thy sight are the manifestations of fortune", and whether R.V. 5, 74, 6 (addressed to the Ásvins) Renou's tentative interpretation ⁴⁴⁾ of the words *smāsi vām saṃdṛśi śrīyē*, viz. "(nous sommes aptes) à contempler (votre) gloire" or "... à faire en sorte que votre gloire soit visible (à tous)" should not be decidedly preferred to Geldner's ⁴⁵⁾ "Wir können uns euch zu Ehren sehen lassen", although one might still prefer: "We are (live, abide) in a state of mutual visual contact with you with a view to obtaining manifestations of fortune". Curiously enough Agni himself is R.V. 3, 5, 2 said to have enjoyed (accepted with satisfaction) the *saṃdṛśaḥ* (plural) of Rta: *pūrvīr ṛtasya saṃdṛśaḥ cakānāḥ* "ayant toujours aimé les nombreux champs-de-vision de l'Ordre-sacré" ⁴⁶⁾. The meaning may rather be that Agni has often "enjoyed" the face to face presence of Rta ⁴⁷⁾.

IX

Sharp eyes ¹⁾ enable a person or a god, like Agni in R.V. 10, 87, 9 ("protect, O Agni, the sacrificial rite with (thy) sharp eye"), to watch over objects of value. Hence also the combination "eye and guardian" in R.V. 10, 8, 5: *bhūvaś cāksur mahā ṛtasya gopāḥ* "thou (Agni) wert the eye and the protector of the great rta". In prayers such as "May Hari's half-closed eyes for ever be your aid" ²⁾, occurring in later literature, God is watchful and intent upon the protection of his devotees even when his eyes are half-closed. The god Pūṣan is R.V. 10, 139, 2; VS. 17, 58; TS. 4, 6, 3, 3 etc. stated to go on, on the instigation of Savitar, as a guardian, gazing on all creatures (*tasya pūṣā prasavē yāti vidvān sampāśyan viśvā bhūvanāni gopāḥ*).

The sun being a manifestation of fire it is not surprising that the god

⁴¹⁾ Geldner, o.c., III, p. 246.

⁴²⁾ Cf. Renou, E.V.P., XIII, p. 49; 136.

⁴³⁾ Geldner, o.c., I, p. 277; Renou, E.V.P., XII, p. 41 f.

⁴⁴⁾ Renou, E.V.P., XVI, p. 39.

⁴⁵⁾ Geldner, o.c., II, p. 80.

⁴⁶⁾ Renou, o.c., XII, p. 54.

⁴⁷⁾ For another and less convincing interpretation ("Erscheinungsformen des Rta") see H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951-1954, p. 435 f.

¹⁾ Cf. also PB. 1, 5, 3 (LŚS. 2, 5, 5; DŚS. 5, 1, 5): "A men-beholding (thus Caland, following the commentary) falcon (art thou, Soma being addressed), with the eye of Agni I look at thee".

²⁾ Viśakhadatta, quoted by Ingalls, o.c., p. 104.

Agni is likewise called the eye of gods and men (AV. 4, 14, 5). Agni moreover goes first of the divine powers³⁾, a feature which is in harmony with the guiding function of the eye. In RV. 1, 31, 13 the same god is addressed as the intimate four-eyed guard or protector (*pāyūr āntaraḥ*).

The eye may indeed be considered the organ which is pre-eminently suited for watching others and for guiding ourselves on our ways. Hence no doubt the remarkable interruption of the parallelism in the mantras TS. 3, 2, 4k "homage to the sadas, homage to the lord of the sadas, homage to the eye of the comrades who go before (addressed to the officiants), homage to the sky, homage to the earth", pronounced when the sacrificer has crept to the sadas, and the statement TS. 6, 5, 1, 4 "therefore the body follows the eye; therefore as one goes many follow". This quite intelligible conception of the eye as a guide cannot be dissociated from its position in the face. It explains also passages such as VS. 17, 69 "Foremost of those who worship the gods come forward, thou who art the eye of gods and men, O Agni": "because also in daily life the sight of a person who goes is in front" (Mahīdhara).

It is therefore easily intelligible that the process of seeing or surveying is not rarely mentioned in connection with a figure acting as a herdsman, so that the conclusion is warranted that it implies protection and careful vigilance. See RV. 7, 13, 3 "Agni looked at the inhabitants of the world like a herdsman at his cattle" (*bhūvanā vy ākhyāḥ paśūnā nā gopāḥ*, Sāyaṇa explaining "looked with a view to protection"); 3, 62, 9 "Pūṣan (the guide and guardian god who 10, 17, 3 is called the herdsman of the world) who beholds all created things in their differentiation and in their totality, he must be our protector"; 10, 139, 1 *sampāśyan viśvā bhūvanāni gopāḥ* (Pūṣan). It may be recalled that in ancient Egypt the mystic 'eye of Osiris' was worn as a protection against magic⁴⁾. Painted on the bows of ships the eye has from ancient times protected the sailors of the Mediterranean: "gli occhi di Nettuno". The ancient Romans who used to credit gods and human beings with a special energetic power were convinced that the look of their eyes betrayed inward strength. Thus Cicero, P. Balb. 49, makes mention of the "imperatorius ardor oculorum" of Marius and Valerius Maximus, 8, 10 ext. 1 speaks of "acerrimum vigorem oculorum, terribile vultus pondus"⁵⁾.

The above remarks may also help to explain the frequent use of the term *adhyakṣa*-. TS. 3, 2, 10, 1 quotes a stanza to accompany the drawing of a special cup of soma: "...for the guardians (-pābhyām) of speech for the guardians (-p.) of inventiveness, for the overseers (*adhyakṣābhyām*) of this established sacrifice do I take thee". It is clear that the *adhyakṣa*- here is invoked as a protector. Cf. also TS. 1, 2, 4, 2 and parallel texts:

³⁾ I refer to my observations in *Studia Indologica*, Festschrift-Kirfel, p. 110 ff.

⁴⁾ See also G. Rudnitzky, *Die Aussage über 'Das Auge des Horus'*, *Analecta Aegyptiaca*, V, Copenhagen 1956.

⁵⁾ See H. Wagenvoort, *Roman dynamism*, Oxford 1947, p. 129.

pūṣādhanah pātva, indrāyādhyakṣāya (explained in KapS. 37, 4 Indra excels the other gods in ojas; he is the *adhyakṣa* of the earth; VS. 4, 19 "for Indra whose eye is over all"⁶⁾, explained ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 20: "may she be well-guarded"); TS. 1, 6, 1, 1 *satyasyādhyakṣa*-.; KapS. 46, 8; TB. 3, 2, 1, 3 *vāyur vā antarikṣasyādhyakṣaḥ*; RVKh. 5, 7, 4n *uror antarikṣasyādhyakṣān*, an expression returning ŚB. 4, 3, 5, 20 in connection with the Ādityas; MSS. 2, 5, 1, 8; 9; ĀpSS. 13, 10, 1; VaikhSS. 16, 12: 2 etc.; TB. 2, 4, 7, 2 *asyāḥ prthivyā adhyakṣam*.

At RV. 8, 43, 24 Agni is called "the marvellous overseer of the (various) aspects of the principle of stability, order and maintenance (*adbhutam adhyakṣam dhārmanām*)"⁷⁾, not "diesen geheimen Aufseher über die Satzungen" (Geldner). It is again an aspect of Agni who in RV. 10, 88, 13 is said to be not only mighty and everlasting but also a *yakṣasyādhyakṣa*- "surveillant du mystère (universel)"⁸⁾, i.e. of the 'soul' or 'spirit'⁹⁾. Cf. also Kauś. 89, 13.

According to KB. 1, 1 the gods while going to heaven said to Agni: "Be thou the overseer (controller: *adhyakṣaḥ*) of this world (i.e. of the mundane sphere)", where he is to be auspicious, helpful, and worthy of sacrifice. KSS. 2, 1, 3 *mamāgne varco vihaveṣv astu vāyam tvendhānās tanvaṃ puṣema mahyaṃ namantāṃ pradiśaś catasras tvayādhyakṣeṇa pṛtanā jayemety āhavanīye samidham ādadhāti* prescribes for the man who adds fuel to the sacrificial fire a formula which whilst invoking Agni asks for vigour and energy, for some forms of well-being and superiority and for victory through that god who acts as a 'supervisor'. For Agni as an *adhyakṣa* see also Kauś. 89, 13; AthPr. 1, 5.

BaudhSS. 3, 16: 86, 18 *atha yajamānam ājyam avekṣayaty ājyam asi satyam asi satyasyādhyakṣam asiti* "he makes the sacrificer look at the sacrificial butter with the words 'thou art sacrificial butter, thou art truth (reality), thou art the supervisor of truth (reality)'. Notice also the formula BaudhSS. 7, 12: 218, 10; 219, 10; 22 ... *vākpābhyām (caksuṣ-pābhyām, śrotrapābhyām) tvā kratupābhyām asya yajñasya dhruvasyādhyakṣābhyām grhṇāmi*.

In RV. 10, 129, 7 the question is posed whether the *adhyakṣaḥ paramé vyoman* "the surveyor in the highest heaven" knows the solution of the problem as to the origin of creation. Here also this term — which probably was a prudent reference to a High God — may be taken to imply the idea of protection and guardianship¹⁰⁾. The idea of guidance and beneficent protection culminates in BhG. 9, 10 *mayādhyakṣeṇa prakṛtiḥ sūyate saca-*

⁶⁾ R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 34.

⁷⁾ For *dharmān*- see my remarks in *Het begrip dharma in het Indische denken*, *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* 20 (Louvain 1958), p. 213 ff.

⁸⁾ Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 24; cf. p. 92.

⁹⁾ Cf. Geldner, o.c., III, p. 281.

¹⁰⁾ See my relative remarks in *De Kosmogonie van Rgveda 10, 129*, in *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie* 28 (Louvain 1966), p. 670 ff.

rācaram: "Nature, while I preside, gives birth to all existing things" ¹¹).

Kāma, the god who helps man to realize desires, is AV. 9, 2, 7 implored to free, as a powerful, formidable (*ugra*-) supervisor, the person speaking from rivals. In 10, 1, 6 (Paipp. 16, 35, 6) the Āṅgīrasa, i.e. one of those mythical beings which are invoked to avert evil ¹²), is described as "our 'overseer' who is placed before (us)": (*ādhyakṣo no purōhitaḥ*), the term *purohita*- applying to a powerful being who by his mere presence is able to act as a shield against dangerous influences ¹³). When the poet of RV. 10, 128, 1 (AV. 5, 3, 1; TS. 4, 7, 14, 1 etc.) expresses the wish to conquer with Agni as 'overseer', this term answers neither to our "inspector" nor to Sāyana's *īśvara*-; the splendid god of the kindled fire (see st. 1 ab) is implored literally to supervise the poet's (reciter's) activity and to further it by this 'supervision'.

In AV. 1, 31, 1 (Paipp. 1, 22, 1) the divine guardians of the quarters of the universe, to whom worship is paid, are described as "overseers of existence" (*bhūtāsyaādhyakṣebhyaḥ*; cf. TB. 2, 5, 3, 3; 3, 7, 5, 8; ĀpŚS. 2, 10, 18; 4, 11, 1); in st. 2 they are requested to release those speaking from the fetters of perdition, from every distress.—From AVPpp. 5, 26, 7 ... *bṛhaspatih | tvaṣṭā me 'dhyakṣaḥ pūṣā te 'rātīm ghnantu svratāḥ* it appears that 'supervision' and protection against evil spirits who disturb man's happiness may go together.—Mitra is according to a formula prescribed AthPr. 1, 2 the *adhyakṣa* of the earth.

The compound *adhyakṣa*- is sometimes translatable by "eye-witness": see e.g. ŚB. 3, 8, 1, 15; 3, 8, 3, 28. What is seen by the eye is obviously considered to be true and founded on fact ¹⁴). Curiously enough it is sometimes also explained, and translatable, by *svāmin*- "lord": PB. 19, 11, 10 (by a definite ritual technique) the *udgātar* makes the sacrificer *annasyādhyakṣam*: "a keeper of food"; 20, 12, 4 and 5. The link between this 'meaning' and the original or literal sense seems to be the use testified to at MaiU. 6, 1 calling a yogin "one who has freed himself from evil, an overseer (and controller) of the eye (and the other senses)": that means: *indriyādhyakṣas teṣu svatanthro nendriyaparavaśa iti* ¹⁵) and uses such as AVPar. 5, 5, 3 ... *senādhyakṣam* ... | *aśvādhyakṣam gajādhyakṣam koṣṭhāgārapatīm* ... (cf. Pāṇ. 6, 2, 67).

X

It will not be our task here to discuss 'mystical' uses of eyesight, such as e.g. the ability to "see along (to discover) the world of heaven" by means of an esoteric knowledge of the significance of full and new moon

¹¹) W. D. P. Hill, The Bhagavadgītā, London 1928, p. 183.—For *adhyakṣa*- = *jīva*- see e.g. BrahmaS. 4, 2, 4.

¹²) The Savayajñas, p. 197.

¹³) See my article Purohita, in Festschrift-Kirfel, (cf. n. 3).

¹⁴) See p. 9.

¹⁵) Cf. S. Radhakrishnan, The principal upaniṣads, London 1953, p. 816.

and the performance of the respective rites (TS. 2, 5, 6, 1), or to see with Agni and Soma who are the eyes of the sacrificer (6, 1, 5, 2), or to dwell on statements such as AiB. 2, 32 identifying the silent praise ¹⁾ with eyes, viz. with the eyes of the pressings or as "the *atirātras* are the eyes of the sacrifice" (7, 2, 9, 1 f.; cf. also 6, 6, 3, 3); see also ŚB. 10, 5, 3, 6. Nor is there any need to discuss passages such as ChU. 2, 7, 1 "One should meditate on ... the eye as the *udgītha*, the ear as the *pratihāra* ..." (cf. 2, 11, 1) or the mythical story of Vṛtra's eyeball which became collyrium (TS. 6, 1, 1, 5; VS. 4, 3), or of the *Āśvins* who are related to have made Indra's eye immortal (VS. 19, 89).

In another publication I had ample opportunity to examine the application of the terminology relating to the eye and the process of seeing to events and phenomena beyond normal eye-sight. The gods and other higher beings have cognizance of what happens in the world by means of an organ called "eye" ²⁾; verbs of seeing are not infrequently used in a more general and rather vague sense of "perceiving" and express also the idea of participating in the nature of beings, concepts, realities which do not belong to this world which is the object of sense perception. Communion with the divine and the possession of extrasensuous or supranormal 'sight' go together. The verb *drś*- also occurs in connection with the mutual relation between gods and the inspired seers and poets. Both gods and gifted men are supposed to have, by means of supranormal eye-sight, possibilities of uncommon and exceptional experiences. The 'wise' or inspired ones see the 'bird', i.e. the inner light of inspiration and poetical vision in heart and mind (RV. 10, 177, 1). The eye is expressly stated (RV. 5, 8, 6) to inspire, excite, or expel that thought which is to acquire the shape of hymns or formulas (*codayanmati*-). "Der Seherblick des inneren Auges", meant in 10, 130, 6, is the poet's *manaḥ* by which he is believed to see "those who as the first performed this act of worship". The inner eye of the seer at RV. 1, 139, 2 enables him to see—with his visions, with his mind, with his own eyes, with the own eyes of Soma—the gods Varuṇa and Mitra seated on their heavenly thrones (1, 139, 2) ³⁾. The ṛṣi Vāmadeva saw after fixing his eye on Agni in the caldron (*ukhyam agnim*) the *sūkta* RV. 4, 4, 1 (KS. 10, 5 *tam avaiṣata. sa etat sūktam apaśyat kṛṇusva pājāḥ* ... *iti*). I also added some observations on the Buddhist and post-Vedic Hindu ideas on the supra-normal 'eye', on 'vision', poetic inspiration and 'visual' contact with the unseen.

In the same introductory chapter of The vision of the Vedic poets ⁴⁾ I made some observations on the divine eye (*divyam caksuḥ*) which helps its possessor to visual omniscience. Mention has there been made also of the supreme divine sight gained by Buddha, "the most eminent among

¹⁾ Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 232.

²⁾ See above, and compare also Deonna, o.c., p. 121 ff.

³⁾ See also Vision, p. 69.

⁴⁾ See especially Vision, p. 34.

all who possess the visual faculty" ⁵⁾ and of BhagG. 11, 8 where the Lord Kṛṣṇa is related to address Arjuna as follows: "Thou canst not behold Me with thine human eye; I will bestow on thee the supranormal (*divyam*) eye: behold my power as the Lord" ⁶⁾.

Vedic literature exhibits also indicia of a prognostic function of visual contact. When MS. 3, 2, 7 a sacrificial boiler ⁷⁾ is intentionally looked at, the sacrificer will be hungry, if it is empty; when it is full, he will be satisfied ⁸⁾.

It is clear that in a milieu which is fully convinced of the power of eye and sight the belief may easily arise that definite individuals are for some reason or other possessed of an extra-ordinary potent visual organ. Thus AV. 4, 20, 7 addresses a protective herb by means of which 'sorcerers' are detected and a person is cured of a disease (Kauś. 28, 7) as the eye of Kaśyapa, the common ancestor of all creatures (ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 5) — perhaps, as Bloomfield supposed ⁹⁾, because this name suggests the word *paśyaka* "seer": TĀ. 1, 8, 8 *kaśyapah paśyako bhavati yat sarvam paripaśyati*. The herb is also "the eye of the four-eyed bitch" (*śunyāś ca caturakṣyāḥ*). The commentary regards the female dog of the gods, Saramā, as referred to, which RV. 10, 14, 10 (cf. AV. 18, 2, 11) is represented as the mother of the four-eyed brindled dogs of Yama ¹⁰⁾. These two dogs are RV. 10, 14, 11 (cf. AV. 18, 2, 12) described as guards who watch the way (to the abodes of the deceased). Geldner's ¹¹⁾ supposition that the "four-eyed" dogs were believed to look in all four directions is acceptable, because four is the "cosmic number" symbolizing the regions or quarters of space and the complete orb of the universe ¹²⁾. The dog being well-known and highly valued for its alertness and vigilance, it is not surprising to find other references to its four-eyedness. In AV. Paipp. 3, 22, 5 this animal occurs in a simile: "just as a four-eyed dog sees by night . . ."; compare also ibid. 8, 6, 5. The poet who applied the qualification "intimate four-eyed guard" to Agni (RV. 1, 31, 13) may even have thought of this domestic animal ¹³⁾. TS. 5, 5, 19 attributing a number of animals to various gods

⁵⁾ The so-called third eye, situated in the forehead at the junction of the eye-brows, as depicted on images of the Buddha, is the Eye of Bodhic Insight. In man, in its latent or undeveloped condition, it is physiologically represented by the pineal gland, which, when yogically developed, is said to become the seat of clairvoyant vision.

⁶⁾ See Vision, p. 307; 34.

⁷⁾ Cf. TS. 5, 2, 8 f.; Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajur Veda, p. 411 f.

⁸⁾ See also p. 27.

⁹⁾ Bloomfield, quoted by Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 185.

¹⁰⁾ I do not see why the possession of four eyes by their mother should not add to the invincibility of this animal (commentary, doubted by Whitney-Lanman, l.c.).

¹¹⁾ Geldner, o.c., III, p. 144.

¹²⁾ I refer to my forth-coming publication on Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, passim.

¹³⁾ Geldner, o.c., I, p. 31.

allots the hyena, the black deer, the ass and the dog of four eyes to the class of evil beings called *itarajanāḥ*. Thus the 'four-eyed' nature of the amulet used in AV. 4, 20, 7 to discover sorcerers — cf. AVPaipp. 8, 6, 5 imploring it to be like a dog with four eyes, like a dark-coloured horse and like Agni who is facing all sides — may be a special case of the 'double visual power' ascribed to definite beings rather than to the resemblance of the flowers of the plant in question to eyes as is supposed by the commentary ¹⁴⁾. AVPaipp. 1, 47, 3; 76, 4 accordingly couples together the words *pratibodhaḥ* "vigilance" and *caturakṣaḥ* "four-eyed", using them in connection with a herb which is expected to slay those who occupy themselves with hostile 'magical practices'.

The dog with four eyes was on the other hand believed to represent "l'ennemi, le mal qui des quatre ¹⁵⁾ points de l'horizon ¹⁶⁾ menace le sacrificant, et qu'il faut chasser, tuer" ¹⁷⁾. That is to say, the wicked enemy of the man who wishes to perform a horse-sacrifice and who seeks to lay hold of this sacrificer should be rendered harmless by killing such a dog ¹⁸⁾ and, to the accompaniment of the formula "Away ¹⁹⁾ is the man! Away is the dog" (VS. 22, 5), plunging it under the feet of the horse which is a thunderbolt: in this way the dog is stamped down and the enemy does not lay hold of the sacrificer (ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 9; KŚS. 20, 1, 38 ff.). The killing of the dog is no doubt meant 'symbolically' "to indicate the punishment of the 'sinner'" ²⁰⁾. The same formula occurs TB. 3, 8, 4, 1 in a somewhat different description of the same ritual practice: "Towards him who wishes to kill the courser, Varuṇa advances violently", with these words he incites (the person concerned with regard to) a dog with four eyes. With 'Away the man! Away the dog' he strikes a dog with four eyes. The evil embodied in a rival verily is so to say a dog. (Thus) he destroys the evil embodied in a rival of his . . ." ²¹⁾. Another unfavourable opinion of four-eyedness is expressed KB. 3, 5: These offerings are not performed in the animal or soma sacrifices, because through the animal offering the soma is possessed of eyes; one should not make the sacrifice four-eyed and loathsome. The section deals with the two butter portions which are said to be the eye.

¹⁴⁾ See also, in the Avesta, Vend. 8, 16. — I cannot enter here into a discussion of the references to two dark spots above the eyes being regarded as another pair of eyes (Geldner, o.c.).

¹⁵⁾ The number four, besides being cosmic in nature, may here also express the idea of an abnormality which, as such, is a source of evil.

¹⁶⁾ See also F. Heiler, Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion, Stuttgart 1961, p. 166.

¹⁷⁾ P. E. Dumont, L'Āśvamedha, Paris-London 1927, p. 27.

¹⁸⁾ That is, according to Karka, a dog with marks about the eyes, suggesting another pair of eyes. Compare the comm. on KŚS. 20, 1, 38.

¹⁹⁾ See J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated, V, S.B.E. 44, Oxford 1900, p. 279, n. 1 (on ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 9).

²⁰⁾ Griffith, o.c., p. 243.

²¹⁾ See also Caland, Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, III, p. 223 f.

The—abnormal and hence dangerous and dreaded²²)—possession of four eyes and hence an extraordinarily keen sight is also ascribed to demons and other evil beings. Thus AV. 8, 6, 22 speaks of “a two-mouthed, four-eyed, five-footed and fingerless demon”, which “creeps forth upon” his victim. AV. 2, 32, used in a healing ceremony against worms in cattle, speaks of “the worm of all forms, the four-eyed, the variegated, the whitish” which is to be crushed and destroyed. The brahman’s cow can change into a terrible animal, becoming eight-footed and four-eyed and shake down the kingdom of the ‘brahman-scather’ (AV. 5, 19, 7).

As is well known the god Brahmā was usually represented with four heads or four faces (*caturmukha-*), which, though traditionally associated with the four Vedas proceeding from him, are however also brought into connection with his extraordinary visual faculty. The Janus-like cross-wise arrangement of his four heads allows Brahmā to look all four ways, so that practically speaking he is, in a literal sense of the term, all-seeing²³).

Some words must be said on the epithet *sahasrākṣa-* “thousand-eyed”²⁴). The number “thousand” does not only express the idea of something very great and numerous, but is also characteristic of divine and celestial power²⁵). The possession of a thousand eyes is therefore in perfect harmony with the representation of the god of fire (who is also the sun) as a destroyer of evil: RV. 1, 79, 12 *sahasrākṣó . . . agnī rākṣāṃsi sedhati* “with this thousand eyes Agni drives off the demoniac powers”. Cf. TS. 5, 4, 7, 2. Bhava and Śarva, invoked in a healing ceremony, are AV. 4, 28, 3 called the two thousand-eyed Vṛtra-slayers, both epithets being proper to Indra²⁶); the commentary rightly adding: “of unobstructed eye-sight, seeing what is near and far away”. In connection with Rudra (who, being so, inspires fear: ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 6): AV. 11, 2, 3; 7; 17; VS. 16, 29; TS. 4, 5, 1, 4; with Indra and Vāyu: RV. 1, 23, 3 in connection with their power of vision (they are called *dhiyas patī*) are said to have thousand-fold (mental) eyesight²⁷); with Agni VS. 13, 47; 17, 71 (cf. ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 32; 9, 2, 3, 32); TS. 4, 6, 5, 2; with Aryaman being implored for wealth TS. 2, 3, 14, 4. The spies of king Varuṇa who look over the earth are given the same epithet (AV. 4, 16, 4); nobody indeed escapes their observation²⁸).

In AV. 6, 26, 3 which is used (Kauś. 30, 17) in a healing rite against

²²) As is well known persons with some physical malformation are widely believed to be endowed with natural qualifications for the possession of occult power, the exercise of magic, sorcery, divination, etc. For some references see H. Webster, *Magic*, Stanford Cal. 1948, p. 144 ff.

²³) Cf. also E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 197.

²⁴) Cf. also *viśvataṣṭakṣus-* “whose eyes are on all sides” (RV. 10, 81, 3).

²⁵) I refer to Loka, p. 88 with n. 70; 99. Cf. e.g. RV. 10, 90, 1; AV. 19, 53, 1.

²⁶) Epithets, p. 87.

²⁷) Epithets, p. 82.

²⁸) Cf. also The Savayajñas, p. 383.

all diseases, the evil which is not willing to leave its victim is called “the thousand-eyed immortal”; that is, the commentary says, “the evil of the nature of an immortal being which like Indra acts with violence”. One would rather suppose the evil power to be thousand-eyed in its own right, because it is pre-eminently able to look for and find its victims. Compare AV. 6, 37, 1 (intended to counteract the ‘sorcery’ of an opponent: Kauś. 48, 23): “hither has come the thousand-eyed curse, seeking after my curser”. Cf. also VS. 13, 47 (in connection with Agni).—AV. 3, 11, 3 (RV. 10, 161, 3) the patient is in the healing ceremony (Kauś. 27, 32 f.) “snatched away by means of an oblation of a thousand eyes (from death)”; although the oblation is also characterized by a hundred life-times which it is no doubt to give to the patient, one might hesitate to interpret *sahasrākṣa-* with the commentary in the same way, the more so as an “all-healing” amulet which is bound on for welfare (Kauś. 19, 22) is likewise believed to have the same number of eyes (AV. 10, 3, 3).

In a text intended to discover, by means of an amulet, ‘sorcerers’ and in which the person for whose benefit it is composed and who wears the amulet is said to look in all directions, praying to detect all beings, the thousand-eyed god—according to the commentary Indra—is said to have given the likewise “thousand-eyed” amulet, by which the person speaking “sees everyone” (AV. 4, 20, 4 f.)²⁹). The help of a thousand-eyed amulet is AV. 19, 35, 3 invoked against an enemy who is *ghoracakṣus-*³⁰).

A passing reference may be made to the Avestan passage Yt. 10, 82 “(Mithra) on whom Ahura Mazdāh has conferred a thousand perceptions, (and) ten thousand eyes for seeing all-round; thanks to these eyes and perceptions he detects the breaker of the contract and the man false to the contract . . .”³¹).

²⁹) For other occurrences in the AV. see The Savayajñas, p. 383.

³⁰) Cf. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 954.

³¹) Cf. I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge 1959, p. 113.

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